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SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, EDITOR.

Without Concealment....Without Compromise.

EDMUND QUINCY,
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Selections.

From the (London) Anti-Slavery Reporter

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES IN 1850.

BY JOHN CANDLER AND G. W. ALEXANDER

GUADALOUPE.

Our visit to Guadaloupe was too brief to admit of much investigation, but from inquiries made at Basse-terre we found that the colony was not in so settled and satisfactory a state as that of Martinique: the storm of politics was raging, field work was too much neglected, and commerce was greatly depressed. In one point of view—and a very important one—the two French colonies are very much alike. A good system of secular education prevails in the large towns of both, to which the poor of all classes, and of every color, resort. Boys and girls are educated apart; the former under the government of *Les Freres Chretiens*, the latter under that of *Les Sœurs de St. Joseph*. White, brown, and black children sit together on the same forms, without distinction, and have the benefit of able teachers. The instructions given in these large schools is more than elementary, especially that afforded to the boys, which embraces geography, history, and mathematics; and the pupils are taught to delineate maps, and to make architectural drawings. We visited some of these schools, at St. Pierre and Fort Royal, in Martinique, and at Basse-terre, in Guadaloupe, and were favorably impressed with their good order and efficiency. Who can doubt that freedom, accompanied, as it begins to be, with a liberal education, embracing the humble classes of society, will be attended with benefit to the colonies of France, and eventually to France itself?

DOMINICA.

From St. Pierre, in less than fourteen hours, we were borne gaily over the waves by our little bark to Roseau, the capital of Dominica, an island which once belonged to France, and was settled by Frenchmen—but is now, and for a long time past has been under the dominion of Great Britain. In coasting the shores of Dominica, as of other of our West Indian islands, we were greatly pleased with the beautiful face of nature. This magnificent island is very mountainous, and abounds in forest. The inhabitants, in number 22,000, are chiefly Roman Catholics; but the church of England has its little establishment, and a few converts. The Wesleyan missionaries have here a useful field of labor.—There are but few schools in the island, and but little elementary instruction is imparted to the young, except at Roseau, where the Roman Catholic schools are pretty well attended, and where there is also a small school for boys, and one for girls, belong to the church of England. The Government has, for several years past, granted £300 annually for education, which is divided among the schools of the island, in the ratio of their respective number of scholars.

Free villages are less numerous here than elsewhere. The proprietors of estates, acting, as we conceive, on a mistaken policy as it regards their own interest, are unwilling to sell small portions of land to the laborers; and the Crown, which possesses a large territorial domain, refuses to dispose of less to any one purchaser than forty acres. In the town of Roseau, which contains 5,000 inhabitants, there are a few colored freeholders, who own houses with small allotments of land, and others of the same class, who own the houses they occupy, and hire land at a distance; but the great body of the peasantry live in the cabins belonging to the plantations, for which, and their provision grounds, they pay rent. The laboring population is quite equal to the wants of the colony, and is, in some places, superabundant. Wages are as low as sixpence or eightpence a day. Provisions are cheap, and there is no destitution. In the north-east of the island, where the principal sugar estates are situated, the common people are said to make a good living, and to lay by money. The social condition of the colony is more satisfactory than that of St. Lucia, although the two islands contain the same number of inhabitants, and profess, for the most part, the same faith. We attribute this indifference to the fact that Dominica possesses several protestant missionaries, whose labors provoke a wholesome emulation, and who thus, as well as by their more direct influence, contribute to the intellectual and moral elevation, and to the religious welfare of the colony. A change of property is beginning to take place here, which probobly may soon be more extensive. Several estates, recently owned by absentees, have passed into the hands of resident cultivators. One individual, largely engaged as an attorney, has lately purchased wholly, or in part, on his own account, eleven sugar estates; and from these, and other properties confided to his care, he ships annually the large amount of 2,500 hogsheads. We have good reason to believe that most of the estates, which makes a pretty considerable quantity of sugar, that is, from 150 to 200 hogsheads and upwards, yield a good profit. Purchasers of land at the present very low prices, who possess sufficient capital to work them, can, we think, hardly fail of success. It is a little remarkable, that no sugar estate has recently gone out of cultivation; and some fresh land has lately been brought into use for canes. A few properties, owing to a want of means on the part of their owners or managers, are cultivated on the share system; but this plan of operation is not in favor with any class, and is only submitted to where the means of carrying on cultivation in the ordinary mode do not exist. This system, so common in Hayti, where the whole community is poor, and no white man is allowed to possess an inch of its soil, is ill adapted to the state of our colonies. It is deficient in the essential elements of success. A partnership in labor, where all are to be equal sharers of the profit, leaves too much liberty to each individual. Every man, to a certain extent, is his own master, and refuses to obey another. One thinks he does too much, and blames others for doing too little, and hence dissatisfaction and discord. The political economists, looking at the quantity of produce likely to be raised from the ground under the two systems of working on shares, waiting long for the profits, and working for wages paid weekly, would, we think, with very little hesitation, pronounce for the latter, as the best for all parties. The share system can be carried out better on coffee plantations than on those for sugar, because of the greater concentration of labor, at particular seasons, in one kind of occupation; and an equal quantity of work to be done may be allotted with less difficulty to each laborer. In Dominica, few such plantations now remain. Coffee was once the staple produce of the island, and the source of its wealth and prosperity, but an extensive blight has nearly destroyed all the trees. Added to this, the competition of Ceylon, as a coffee growing country, has so effectually brought down the price of that commodity, as to leave no margin for profit on its cultivation here. This branch of industry is therefore paralysed, and coffee, as an article of commerce, has nearly disappeared from the exports. Cotton of a fine quality was also once grown here, and will, we hope, be cultivated again.

The legislature of Dominica is composed principally of colored men born in the island, who know its wants and resources, and who transact its affairs with some regard to economy, and the welfare of all classes. We are bound, however, to notice one very injurious law, lately passed, which tends to irritate the small freeholders, who cultivate their hired provision grounds, and to depress honest industry. A heavy duty has been laid on the exportation of yams, plaintains, and other articles of *bread kind*. This law, in the opinion of some of the most enlightened men of the colony, ought to be immediately repealed, and we heartily concur in the sentiment.

ANTIGUA.

Still pursuing our course by the *Nautilus*, we arrived in the harbor of St. John's, the capital of Antigua, on the morning of the first day of the week—the Christian Sabbath, and rejoiced to observe the stillness of the town. Here was a place of 9,000 inhabitants, and scarcely a single person to be seen in the streets. The tower of the new and great cathedral glittered in the moon-day sun, the spacious edifice of the Wesleyans rose prominently before us, and the Presbyterian kirk in the distance. The bishop of the diocese was preaching at the cathedral, and to this, and the other places of worship, including the large Moravian chapel, the people, as by common consent and custom, had repaired. It was a gratifying sight, when the services were over, to see people of every color, black, white, and brown handsomely attired, all slowly returning to their respective homes. We had to wait an hour at our hotel, and we waited contentedly, till its mistress and her servants returned to furnish us with a morning's repast. How different all this to the state of things a few years since, when Slavery was sanctioned by law! The weekly public market was long held on the day sacred to rest and Divine worship. The noise of a busy throng of traders then prevailed, where now all was order and peace. It is not too much to say of the descendants of Africa, in our colonies, that since emancipation, and the abolition of "Sunday markets," they have become preeminently a church going people. Whatever their moral defects may be, and much allowance in charity is due to them, they seem glad to frequent their places of public worship. We expected, morally speaking, more of Antigua than of the other colonies, and found a greater advance in this respect than in most of them. Its legislature, trusting to the policy of doing right, had the courage to give immediate and unconditional liberty to the slaves, without the miscalled preparation of apprenticeship; nor has it ever had occasion to regret the measure. The people, at once emancipated from bondage, have proved themselves good subjects, and they continue to exhibit the pleasing spectacle of an improved, and improving community. Not wishing to remain in the cabins where they once lived as slaves, they soon bought land, and built houses of their own. The free villages are numerous, and scattered over hill and dale, or lying by the sea-side, animate the face of nature, and improve its scenery. One of these villages, consisting of a fair class of houses with gardens attached, and close to the bay, forms a handsome suburb to the capital. Too many of the dwellings of the peasantry, however, both in town and country, have only one room, and although this is sometimes large, such an arrangement is obviously very undesirable, on the ground of comfort and morals, and will, we hope, soon be remedied.

It was with much regret that we learned, shortly after our arrival, that the circumstances of the colony were such as considerably to abridge the physical comfort of a portion of its inhabitants. Such was the case with its industrious peasantry at the time of our visit. All classes were, indeed, more or less in a state of depression. The awful earthquake of 1843 overthrew many houses and sugar works, and occasioned a great loss of property. Then came the Sugar Act of 1846, which greatly depreciated the price of the staple article. These disasters were followed, in 1848, by a hurricane, which swept away much property that the earthquake had spared; and both that year and the succeeding one were seasons of prolonged drought. The gardens and provision grounds of the laborers had yielded only a scanty return, the sugar crops were very deficient, and the planters, discouraged at almost every step, and deprived, to a great extent, of monied assistance from England, were unable to give the same quantity of employment to the people, or to pay for it as formerly. The wages of labor were reduced to sixpence only a day. We did not discover any actual destitution, or deep distress among the peasantry, but we found in some places, much of real poverty, which they seemed to encounter with exemplary patience. Not a few of them, animated, we trust, by religious feeling, bore up cheerfully in the hope of better times. The schools suffered in the general depression, and were maintained with great difficulty. Parents pleaded poverty as a reason for not sending their children to them, or for not paying the weekly sum demanded, and the fees, always small in amount, were in numerous instances remitted.

The population of Antigua is, of males, 16,722, and of females, 19,456: total, 36,178. There are taught in the day schools 2,744 children, mostly under twelve years of age; and in the day and Sabbath schools together, at least 6,000. The Moravians take the precedence, as they always have done, in the work of education; and next to them, in this respect, is the Church of England. The Wesleyans have large Sabbath schools, but not many day schools. The Mico charity has a good normal establishment, and the Moravians a very interesting normal school of industry in the country, where the pupils, all of whom are very young, pay in part for their board and instruction by the work they perform in the gardens and fields. There is also in the city of St. John an orphan school for colored girls, under the care of two pious Wesleyan women, which deserves all the support a Christian public may be willing to bestow. We were very much gratified by visits paid to many of these schools. It was delightful and cheering to look on the rows of shoeless children, with their little black faces beaming with intelligence, animation, and youthful happiness. The Sabbath schools also afforded us a great treat. In one of them, belonging to the Moravians, we found 590 children and adults, under the care and tuition of 53 teachers; and in another, at the Wesleyan chapel, about 250 young persons, all of whom were instructed in the elements of religion, and of their duties to God and man. Such efforts as these for the good of the rising generation, ought to excite our gratitude. They have had, and still have, a most beneficial influence on the community at large.

The calender of crime in Antigua is far from large, and is chiefly made up, as in most of our colonies, of petty offences. The average number of prisoners, tried and untried, in the colonial gaol, and for all sorts of offences, is under eighty, which speaks well for the population. We lament to observe, in this island, a practice which is common with the planters, of allowing rations of rum to their laborers as an incentive to labor, or as, what they would denominate, a reward for its performance. Such a practice naturally induces a love of ardent spirits, and, if wages were high enough to allow the gratification, would doubtless lead many to the grog shop, and thus increase the temptation to vice. Intemperance is not a prevailing sin among the emancipated people of Antigua, or, indeed, of any other of our West India colonies; but such practices, if persevered in, will probably superinduce that deplorable vice. In our journeys through the island, we had occasional opportunities of addressing the laborers on temperance, and other moral duties. At a large meeting one evening, in the Episcopal chapel of a small village, the people, among other things, were recommended not to spend any of their earnings improperly, but to lay by for a rainy day. A negro man, with a jet black face, very archly said, "Yes, sir, very true, but we no get enough in a dry day to put by for a rainy one." This, poor creatures, was, at that moment, truly the case. The assembly were asked if they had anything they wished to say to those in England who, like themselves, were laborers; when another replied, "Tell them no buy slave sugar, that mixed with blood; but buy Antigua; no blood in that now, massa." The officiating clergyman, who was present, told us that owing to the poverty of the people he had been obliged to close his infant school of 200 children. The parents could not afford to pay for their schooling, although he only required of them a penny a-week for each child in attendance.

The contract law, acted upon, as it sometimes is, by indiscreet managers in an unrelenting spirit, occasions hardships to the peasantry, and often leads to their imprisonment, as misdemeanants, with hard labor. This we ascertained by an examination of the prison records. There was, moreover, no court of appeal in the colony at the time of our visit, although a bill to establish one had passed the council.

THE PLANTERS.

In Antigua, as elsewhere, a great diversity exists in the present condition of the planters. Some estates have been lately sold, or are selling, at a very low price; but the greater part of the properties remain in the hands of absentee owners, or mortgagees, some of which are still paying well, whilst others are cultivated at a loss. One gentleman, an agent or attorney for thirty-four sugar plantations, had been recently looking over his books of account. Fourteen of these estates, he said, afforded a revenue to the proprietors; twelve were unattended with loss or profit; and eight were carried on to a loss. We heard of forty other estates, which are under the care of a mercantile house in Great Britain, and which are superintended by one of the firm, who resides in the colony. Many of these properties, we are confident, are doing well, and if others of them fail to do so, it is no more than might under present circumstances, be reasonably expected. The estates that do not pay will, we believe, be found to be generally those not favorably situated, or where the soil is indifferent. It should also be remembered, that almost all estates belonging to absentees, are subject to disadvantages, from which estates, managed by resident proprietors, are exempt. The charge of an attorney is considerable, amounting in many instances to twenty shillings for every hogshead of sugar shipped; and if the estate happen to be mortgaged, which is almost always the case, the disadvantage to the nominal owner is still more considerable. The difference between burdened and unburdened properties was represented to us as amounting to another twenty shillings a ton. Small estates, not well situated, or not very fertile, might have borne these deductions formerly, but they cannot bear them now. These must either pass into the hands of resident owners, or be thrown out of cultivation. Hitherto, but few estates have been abandoned, and six or eight, which had been thrown up under Slavery, have been brought again into cultivation. The growth of sugar has somewhat increased; which leads us to suppose that the planters look upon the present depression as only temporary. One thing, however, is perfectly clear, that nothing but improved husbandry and strict economy, with sufficient capital to give employment to labor, will make the country prosperous; and these cannot secure prosperity when the heaven withholds its rain, as is not unfrequently the case in this, and the neighboring island of St. Kitt's. Little besides sugar is grown in Antigua. Many of the hills are barren and yield nothing, but the plains, in some parts, are so rich and fertile as, in good seasons, to yield three tons of sugar per acre. The cocoa nut trees are nearly all blighted and dead, and few other trees remain. Provisions are grown in the colony in a sufficient quantity only to supply one-third of the food consumed by the population. The remaining two-thirds are imported, chiefly from the United States. The following comparative value of exports in the different years is estimated at the Custom house by the current price of produce in the home market, and tends to show the very large falling off in the sum received by the planters and laborers, arising out of our late legislation. In 1847, sugar was valued at £20 per hogshead; in 1848, at only £12 per hogshead.

1845	Nett exports to Great Britain		£267,237
1846	"	"	213,967
1847	"	"	217,998
1848	"	"	164,831

A few years ago, when times were more prosperous, the building of a cathedral was commenced, and which has been completed at the enormous cost of £40,000. Other church edifices in country parishes, on a scale of magnificence and expense, equally unreasonable and disproportioned to the means of the colony, stand unfinished. The means of the inhabitants are crippled by this extravagance; and the Dissenters, who form the great bulk of the community, justly complain of the burdens imposed upon them for these purposes by the dominant party. Several colored gentlemen are members of the legislature, elected principally through the influence of their own class in society, but nearly all the magistrates are white men. In the city of St. John, there are only two men of color in the commission of the peace, although there are several merchants of that class well qualified for the office. It was spoken of to us as a great hardship, that while now and then, though rarely, a colored man is appointed to some honorary office, in no instance has any place of emolument, combined with the honorary, been conferred on one of that body. We think this subject worthy of the consideration both of colonial governors and of the Government at home, as it regards Antigua and most of our other India colonies.

Before leaving this very interesting island, in which we had met with great kindness and attention from the Governor-general and all classes of the community, and had experienced much hospitality, we had the gratification of attending a large Anti-Slavery Meeting at the Court House. The bishop of the diocese presided, and spoke on the subject of the slave-trade and Slavery, as a Christian minister ought to speak. Clergymen, missionaries, merchants, and planters took part in the proceedings, and several resolutions were passed expressive of the evils of Slavery, and of congratulation that a system, so cruel, debasing, and impolitic had ceased in the British dominions.

ST. KITT'S.

Embarking on board our hired schooner, *The Ware*, we left Antigua at 10 a. m., and, borne on by a fine breeze, reached St. Kitt's and cast anchor at Basse-terre, its principal town, before sunset. Early the next morning we waited on Governor Macintosh, who kindly offered the use of his carriage and horses during our stay. In the evening his coachman took us a drive through the rich valley in which Basse-terre stands; the cane plant looked sickly, owing to a long drought, and the hired grounds of the laborers yielded a scanty supply of provisions from the same cause. Allotments of land, of small extent, similar to those in some parts of England, are let out in this valley by one of the planters, and being near the town, which affords a ready market for the produce are taken up at what amounts to an enormous rental. The laborer receives half the produce, and the owner half! The large amount of labor at command, the lowness of wages, which are only sixpence a day, and the unwillingness of the planters to sell small portions of ground, have brought the laborers, in general, to the lowest point of subsistence consistent with comfort, and sometimes below this state. They are anxious to buy waste land, and where they cannot buy, to hire it; and on land so procured, whether bought or hired, they choose to place their dwellings. The planter avails himself of this anxiety on the part of the peasantry, to have homes of their own, to obtain a large ground rent, and to extort cheap and continuous labor. A spot of 100 feet square usually lets for fifty shillings per annum, unless the party binds himself to work on the estate five days in the week, in which case the rent is reduced to half that sum. Laborers so circumstanced, if they wish for a larger plot of ground to cultivate, are compelled to go the hill sides and ravines, often many miles off, and, even in that case, must pay very dear for the privilege. The tenure of land so obtained is precarious, as the owners can eject at pleasure. This State of the law is peculiarly grievous to the poor occupier, and almost binds him as a serf to the soil. Added to this grievance, is the operation of the *Capias* Act. A poor man may, at any time, be summoned before the Court of Requests for a small amount of rent in arrear, and in default of payment be committed to prison as a debtor. Several vexatious law suits of this kind had lately been prosecuted against the laborers, and parties who had been thus harrassed were in prison at the time of our visit. There is an undoubted want of labor on some of the estates, during part of the season of crop, but this want is only partially felt, and is much exaggerated; whilst out of crop, employment is often refused to numbers who desire to obtain it. We were assured again and again by the laborers, that it is quite common for perhaps a dozen peasants to go early on the "Monday" morning to an estate to seek work for the week, and for five or six of them to be turned back with nothing to do. The planters are very wisely economising labor by the introduction and use of agricultural implements. Their doing so gives great offence to the common people, who are mostly very ignorant, and who attribute to this cause the present low rate of wages. Four of the laborers waited on us, to represent the hardships they sustained in being compelled to compete with ploughs and harrows, which they said was wrong both to them and their masters; they themselves had only half employment, and the fields, from being simply scratched over, were only half cultivated! We should be glad if they had nothing worse to complain of: but whilst they are comparatively poor, the Home Government is busy in carrying out a project which tends to make them still poorer. Immigrants from Africa are brought here. A cargo of these poor beings had arrived at St. Helena just before we landed, some of whom we saw. They were not wanted in the colony; the effect of their coming is to deepen the depression of the Creoles, already too great, and to retard their civilization and moral improvement, without which nothing can permanently prosper. The affairs of immigration seem to be arranged between the consignees of estates in England and the Colonial Office at home, as the Governor informed us that he had no intimation of their coming till the ship had cast anchor in the harbor.

The moral state of the laborers is, we fear, but little better than their physical and social condition. The paucity of marriages in the past year, only ninety-two out of a population of 23,000, tells a very unsatisfactory tale. Education also greatly suffers, owing to the insufficient wages of labor. The general funds of the Wesleyan connexion have fallen off at the rate of £480 per annum; the schools, which were partly supported out of them, have become deprived, in some instances, of suitable teachers, and the children in attendance are fewer by 797 The funds of the Moravian Society also have fallen off one-half. All this is much to be deplored, and the more so, because the population, legitimate and illegitimate, is fast increasing, and unless some very vigorous measures be taken to extend elementary education, a large proportion of the young people of the colony will go uninstructed. The baptisms, or births, recorded for the past year were 933; and the burials 649. The friendly societies are languishing, and the savings' bank is empty. The legislature, wisely, we think, have declined making grants for education out of the island chest, which makes it the more imperative for the friends of voluntary education to use exertions in its behalf. The following are the terms of an Act lately passed, bearing date 10th March, 1849:—

"Whereas the embarrassed state of the treasury consequent upon the recent and continuing defalcation of the trade of this island has made it expedient to withdraw the grant for the purpose of encouraging the diffusion of education and of moral training among the industrial classes of the inhabitants of this island:—We, therefore, your Majesty's loyal subjects, the officer administering the government of this island and of Anguilla, and the council and assembly of the said island of Saint Christopher, do pray your most excellent Majesty that it may be enacted,—

"1. And be it and it is hereby enacted, that, from and after the passing of this act, the act passed in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-six, number six hundred and fifty-nine, entitled an Act to promote the Education of the Industrial classes in this Island, and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained, shall be, and the same is hereby repealed, annulled, and made void."

THE PLANTERS.

Here, as well as in Antigua, the planters seem very willing to encourage ecclesiastical encroachments at the expense of the community at large. The sum of £7,000 has been expended on an Episcopalian place of worship at Basse-terre, which is left unfinished. The scheme of completing it appears to be abandoned, as it is now discovered that the old church is large and good enough. How striking the contrast between this wasteful and extravagant grant for a church a few years since, and the terms of the Act which we have cited in reference to education!

The sugar estates yield but a very moderate return, and the value of landed property is much reduced. A planter residing in Antigua purchased an estate at Old Road in this island, since emancipation, and before the passing of our late Sugar Act, for which he gave £7,000: he could then have readily let it at £300 or £400 per annum on lease. It makes 100 hogsheads of sugar. He is now content to receive for it £150 per annum. Another estate lying near it, altogether a most desirable and well-regulated property, which makes 110 hogsheads, lets for the same sum. Between these two properties is a forsaken estate, by which we drove. It has a moderately good dwelling house, sugar works with a steam engine, and 120 acres of middling cane field. It is offered for sale at £6,000 but would let readily for £40 per annum. We heard, however, of land that has been recently purchased by a resident proprietor, adjoining his estate, at the rate of £20 per acre. The resident planters on the island, we are assured, are generally doing well. A few of the planters late agents for absentees, are buying up good properties as fast as their means allow, and we were assured by some of these gentlemen, that a majority of the sugar estates would yield a fair profit, if bought or hired at the present market value of land, and especially if protected against slave-grown sugar by a differential duty of five shillings per cwt. The cost at which sugar may be produced here is much the same as in Barbadoes; it is grown on an estate near Basse-terre at 6s. 9d. per cwt., exclusive of repairs, stock, implements, and interest of capital, and may be brought to market, ready for shipment, including all charges of every kind, at about three dollars, or 12s. 6d. per cwt. One planter estimated the cost at 14s. per cwt. The best estates in the island belong to absentees. Nearly all the absentee properties are mortgaged, and remain from that cause subject to heavy charges. The freight of sugar to England, obtained by the competition of ship owners in the open market, is from 2s. 6d. to 3s. per. cwt. The freight charged by consignees to whom the properties are mortgaged was represented to us as in general 4s. per cwt.

Some of the planters, and we believe most of the merchants of the colony, are of the colored class, and many of them members of the Legislature.—Thirteen of their number did us the favor of making us a call, to represent to us the grievance to which they feel themselves subjected, of being excluded from nearly all the offices of honor and emolument at the disposal of the executive government. Within about twelve months nine persons had been appointed to the magistracy, and not a colored individual among them. The coroner, who has a salary of £250 per annum, is the only colored person who holds an office of profit. We thought there was much reason in the complaints of these respectable and highly intelligent men, but candor compels us to acknowledge that they seemed less keenly alive to the wrongs of others than to their own disadvantages, inasmuch as they possess influence in the Legislature, and do not exert it, as they might do, to prevent the passing of objectionable laws.—Whilst the laborer is subject to imprisonment under the *capias* act as a debtor for a small amount of rent, the larger occupier, by a clause in a bill then before the House, was intended to be relieved from its operation. Imprisonment on mesne-process might ensue for an unpaid rent of five shillings, but in no case whatever where the rent withheld should exceed £50!

Before leaving St. Kitt's we attended a large Anti-Slavery meeting at the Court-house, composed of planters, clergymen, laborers, and persons of every class. The Speaker of the House of Assembly presided, and resolutions condemnatory of Slavery, and of congratulation on its extinction were passed unanimously. A severe castigation was bestowed on the eccentric Thomas Carlisle, the author of *Latter-day Pamphlets*, by an Episcopalian clergyman present, and by a Wesleyan missionary, both of whom exposed, in a happy strain of humor and irony, his monstrous perversions of truth and justice, in regard to our emancipated people, and his utter ignorance of colonial matters, on which he writes so confidently. It seemed wonderful to some persons, who attended the meeting, that a day like this should have dawned on the West Indies, in which Slavery should be publicly reprobated as a crime. But a great change has taken place in public sentiment, and all classes agree in considering emancipation as a blessing.

MONTESERAT AND NEVIS.

We were unable to visit MONTESERAT, owing to the prevalence of small-pox there, and to the consequent quarrantine regulations at other islands; neither did we visit NEVIS. Monteserat was represented to us as having a poor population, and the price of land as very low. With respect to this colony, we gather from the last official Report that the proprietors of estates, with very few exceptions, "have neither capital to carry on cultivation, nor credit sufficient to obtain advances from home for that purpose." Though the ordinary rate of wages is said not to be more than threepence per day, yet long arrears are due to the peasantry. In commenting upon these facts, the Governor sees no other remedy to cure the evil, than "an extensive transfer of property to more solvent hands, than those of its present owners."

In Nevis, a majority of the field laborers were working on the share system, as the planters, cut off from their usual supplies from England, had no capital for the payment of wages, and the credit of the island was at a low ebb. The President of this island makes the following report:—"The depression which has affected the state of trade, and the very perceptible though gradual deterioration, both in quality and extent, which has for some time characterised agricultural operations, have both increased during the past year; and the produce of the soil, which is now in course of being submitted to manufacture, will fail, I fear, to satisfy the expectations of the planter, from the absence chiefly of the means of providing for the necessary cultivation of estates during that period of the year when the cane requires such aid to bring it to a maturity in a healthy and profitable state. The ordinary price of labor continues to be low; so low, indeed, as to furnish no more than a reasonable recompence for the exercise of labor. The conduct of the laboring population is orderly and peaceable; they are, as a class, in the enjoyment of comparative prosperity; for although, they can only in a very few instances avail themselves of regular employment, and at low wages, they are permitted to possess so many irregular privileges and resources that they are comparatively far removed from any danger of destitution. The small extent of grave offences committed in this island continues to evince this state of things."

THE DANISH COLONIES.

Our passage from Basse-terre, in St. Kitt's, to Christianstadt, in Santa Cruz, occupied thirty hours. Santa Cruz is one of the most interesting island of the Western World. The estates are divided from each other by rows of cocoa nut trees; the valleys are well cultivated, and covered with luxuriant cane fields; the roads are excellent, and the landscape everywhere sweet and lovely. It exceeds in quiet beauty almost every spot that we could name. It is not yet fully the abode of liberty, but we trust that it soon will be, and that the people, emancipated from every remnant of bondage, will rejoice as free men on the soil that gave them birth. Santa Cruz is a colony of Denmark, and together with the islands of St. Thomas and St. John, is under the rule of Governor-general Stansen, who gave us a hearty and hospitable welcome, invited us to his table, and gave us liberty, under his own hand, to visit and inspect the public institutions. The records of these islands are kept with scrupulous exactness, and their statistics are exceedingly minute. The *free* people of Santa Cruz are 8,359. The late slaves, and still unfree, are 16,706; total, 24,065. There reside in the town of Christianstadt, which is the seat of Government, 5,108 persons; in Frederickstadt, 2,344; in the country and on the estates, 16,613. The proclamation of freedom to the slave population is dated 3d July, 1848, and recites as follows:—

"1. All unfree in the Danish West Indies are from to-day emancipated.

"2. The estate negroes retain for three months from date the use of the houses and provision grounds, of which they have hitherto been possessed.

"3. Labor is in future to be paid for by agreement, but allowance is to cease.

"4. The maintenance of old and infirm, who are not able to work, is until further determination to be furnished by the late owners."

The terms of this proclamation, so plain and unequivocal, which bestow unconditional freedom on the slave, have since been repealed, and resolutions or decrees of a stringent character substituted, which leave the predial laborers in a state of bondage. They cannot change their masters or place of abode oftener than once in the year, and their employments not at all; the wages they receive are very small and regulated by law. Their daily tasks are prescribed, and they are restricted in locomotion. A chief part of the freedom that remains is the permission once in the year, when the annual contracts of service expire, to give notice to leave their masters; but in this case they must find employment elsewhere, or buy a passport to leave the land of their birth, and quit the island. This state of things, being only hope deferred, not realised, makes sick the heart of those who are subject to it, and many discontents are the consequence, which manifest themselves in the prison records for what is termed insubordination; and we are sorry to say, in occasional acts of incendiarism, the authors of which are unknown. We attended several of the courts, or what we should term the petty sessions, and paid more than one visit to the principal public prison. This prison is among the best constructed in the West Indies, and contained, at the time of our visit, forty convicts—twenty-seven men and thirteen women. There are fifty-two spacious cells, in one long airy corridor. The prisoners, men and women, were at work in the town, under a guard, each of them wearing a thick and heavy iron ring on the neck (a badge of Slavery, that ought not to be tolerated.) The commitment book was kept in Danish, and contained such records of offences and punishments as the following:—"For leaving the estate, fourteen days' imprisonment and labor." "Disorderly conduct on the estate, twelve lashes and two months' imprisonment." "Impertinence to the owner, two months' imprisonment." "Frequent desertion of service,"—a female,—"four months' imprisonment." "Stealing canes, three months' imprisonment." There were also many commitments for refusing to work, with the record, "Detained till further orders." No owner of an estate can inflict corporal punishment on the laborers. The police magistrates hold courts in different parts of the island, and in Christianstadt these take place three times a week. In all cases connected with field labor, the sentence is summary, and the convict is sent to prison. There is a court of appeal, but the laborers seldom resort to it. The chief magistrate of the police spoke well of the peasantry, and expressed his belief that the present intermediate system would soon give way to unconditional freedom, as at first proclaimed. A similar statement was made by a colonel of artillery, who sat near us, when we dined at the Governor's table. We heartily wish this righteous and beneficial result. Having been introduced by the Governor to a few of the principal planters, we received invitations to make a tour of the island, and to visit some of the estates, which we were glad to accept, as without such permission we could not have entered into a single cabin. Many of the houses of the *unfree* are much better in appearance than those of the old slave villages in our own colonies. They are generally built of stone, shingled over with wood, and being arranged in rows, have an appearance of respectability and comfort. The arrangements within, of some of the best of them, are pretty good. The people who inhabit these dwellings have a downcast and timid look, very different from that of the laborers of our own colonies. Their masters, with very few exceptions, were evidently unwilling that we should enter into any conversation with them on their circumstances, which we could have done freely if left to ourselves, as the Negro Dutch dialect, once common to the island, has almost disappeared, and English is commonly spoken. This is also the language of the pulpit and the schools. In passing through the country and among the estates, we saw numerous large groups of men and women working in the fields, under a driver, exactly as it was in the days of Slavery,—with this difference only, that no driver can use a whip. Such of the laborers as we met in the corners of fields, or at the gates by the road-side, or driving cattle on the road, seemed half afraid to converse with us, lest they should be detected: but we learned from some of them what they thought of their present condition, which we found to be unsatisfactory to them. During two days of the week, out of the seven, they are partially disenthralled. The Saturday market is a time to many of them of joy and freedom, and the Sabbath brings with it, to most, the blessings of rest and of public worship. It is a gratifying sight to witness, as we did, numerous bands repairing from the estates, on the first day of the week, to their respective places of public worship, habited in their holiday dresses; the women bearing parasols, which seem quite a common appendage; and some of the men, more favored by their masters than the rest, riding on horseback, with perhaps a boy or a girl, and sometimes a woman, taking hold of the horse's tail, for the benefit of a kindly and social drag. We only needed to believe that they were really free to rejoice in such a spectacle. The Sabbath schools are well attended by both children and adults; the day-schools not quite so well as during the later period of Slavery, when masters were *compelled* to send all children of a certain age to the district school. The Government centralises overlooks, and directs every movement of the common people; it judges education to be a benefit to the State, and has not omitted to make some provision for it. There are eight public district schools, for the gratuitous education of the young, and two Lancasterian schools, in Frekericksiadt, the whole of which are supported at an annual cost of from £5,000 to £6,000. There are also in the island two Danish schools, and fourteen private schools. The total of children of all classes, under instruction, is 1,259. The children of the peasantry who receive education, are mostly confined to those of a very early age, and this is given during a very limited period of the day. We consider the schools in Santa Cruz to be in all respects much less satisfactory than in most of the British colonies. The Lutheran church has its ministers, who preach in the Danish language: and the English and American Episcopalians have a minister in Christianstadt. The great body of the common people attend the Moravian chapels. The Roman Catholics have a handsome edifice in the capital.

THE PLANTERS.

Santa Cruz contains 128 sugar estates, which make an average annual amount of sugar of 110 hogsheads each. It has thirty cattle or stock estates, chiefly in pasture. The number of resident proprietors is sixty-seven; of non-residents, twenty seven. The absentee proprietors pay a duty to the Government of five per cent, on the gross revenue of their estates, which amounted, last year, to 11,416 dollars. The export duty on sugar shipped to Denmark is five per cent, *ad valorem*—on sugar shipped to foreign ports, ten per cent. The import duty levied in Denmark is, on sugar from Santa Cruz, eighty-nine cents per cwt.; on foreign sugars, one dollar, forty cents. These differences, with twenty cents on the Sound duties, making in all about 3s. per cwt., give an advantage to the colonists in the home market, and enable them to pay more easily the heavy colonial taxation to which they are subject. In no part of the West Indies that we visited are the sugar estates, in general, so handsome and complete as in Santa Cruz, and nowhere is a better commodity produced. The value of property is much reduced, owing to the recent fall in the price of sugar in Europe, and partly, perhaps, from the suspense in which the planters remain as to the period of complete emancipation. We visited two estates adjoining each other, that came into the hands of the present proprietors as a mortgage on a bond of £40,000. Eight years ago, the sum of £32,000 was offered for them and refused. The present market value is believed not to exceed £20,000. In one part of the island, an arrangement was pointed out to us, by which the cost of producing sugar had been much lessened. A planter possessing large capital, and having several properties of his own, or leased to him, so far improved the works on one of the estates as to make them sufficient for the manufacture of the canes grown on the whole. Of course there are many planters whose means do not enable them thus to economise supervision and labor. The operation of sugar making and of sugar refining by means of the vacuum pan, which we noticed at Santa Cruz, were peculiarly interesting to us. No fears need be entertained of the well-doing of the planters of this colony, if justice be done to the people. The crop of 1849, the first year of transition from Slavery to comparative freedom, was 12,000 hogsheads of fifteen cwt. each, which, at £13 sterling per hogshead, as the nett price in the European market, realised £156,000. The rum *shipped* was 653,820 gallons, which at 15d. per gallon, would realise £40,860. The molasses, 439,167 gallons, at 8d. per gallon, would produce £14,640.—Total nett value of the produce shipped £211,500. The sums thus realized are independent of the value of the same articles consumed in the colony itself, and of articles produced and disposed of but not enumerated. The number of laborers in the colony is known and published; the rate of wages paid to the laborers of each class is also known, because it is fixed by Government. From these data it appears that the exact amount of predial wages paid in the same year, was £73,917 1s. 10d., which includes the wages for labor on the stock estates. The wages thus paid to the stock estate laborers are presumed to be equal to the extra wages paid on sugar plantations for extra work during crop, and for the maintenance of the sick and aged. According to a common calculation in the West Indies, the amount of wages must be doubled to represent *all the actual out-goings* of a sugar estate. This would make the expenditure of the island, in 1849, to be £147,834, against a nett income of £211,500, leaving a fair margin for profit. This calculation is founded on the sale of only 12,000 hogshead of sugar, produced under unfavorable circumstances in a year of transition and change; but the *average* produce of the colony is 14,000 hogshead, so that present and future profits may be estimated as much higher. We cannot but think that the planters of Santa Cruz are, in general, doing well, and we hope that a brighter and better day is dawning on the peasantry. Whilst we are confident that their condition is greatly improved since a partial emancipation has been conferred upon them, we see plainly that they are yet in a state of serfage, and only nominally free. It is true, that no punishments can be summarily inflicted by owners or overseers, and that wages are paid for labor performed. The children are, or are required to be, sent to school for a limited period, and the sick and aged may have their wants moderately supplied. But the people have no power to change their masters or occupation at pleasure: and they are compelled to work in gangs in the field, where the women are more in number than the men. They are watched over and stimulated to labor by drivers who construe what they call a hard word into impertinence,—a grave offence under any form of Slavery,—and for which the offender is not unfrequently harrassed by an appeal to the magistrate. These things are deeply trying to human nature, infuse discontent, and are unsafe to the body politic. It was our intention to have annexed the regulations to which the former slaves are subjected, but we find them too long for insertion. They would, we think, throw little light on the condition of the peasantry beyond that already given. The statistics of the colony show a large decrease in the export of sugar, as compared with the early part of the present century, and a great falling off of the laboring population, arising from the excess of deaths over births during the period of Slavery. We have reason to fear that the deaths are now equal, if not superior, in number, to the births among the peasantry. This is a state of things that must be highly unsatisfactory to the philanthropist and to the legislator.

ST. THOMAS.

On landing at the foot of St. Thomas, we repaired to the large and handsome hotel at the water's edge, kept by a Frenchman, where we sat down every day at a public table, frequented by visitors from many nations, and speaking a variety of languages. The flags of England, America, Spain, Holland, Hamburgh and France, floated in the harbor, and the streets of the town were thronged and busy. The population of this modern Tyre is 10.560 of persons permanently resident; its fixed and floating population together are about 12,000. The introduction, so kindly furnished us by the Governor-general of the Danish West Indies, secured to us the attentions and assistance of the authorities of the place. The island of St. Thomas has a rocky surface, and a sterile soil; and, having encountered a long succession of dry seasons, its naturally poor sugar estates have become still poorer; some have lately been abandoned, and others are struggling for existence. There are eighty families of free persons living in the country, and 275 families of the nominally emancipated. There are thirty-two sugar properties, most of them small ones three of which belong to the Crown of Denmark. The slaves who lived in the town were made unconditionally free, but the slaves who lived on the estates in the country, 2,000 in number, are little bettered in their condition. They cannot change their masters any more than in Santa Cruz; but if they are ill-treated, they may complain to the police-master. If they absent themselves from the field gang, or neglect their work, they are sent to him to be punished, who orders them to be imprisoned or sent to hard labor, at his discretion, and sometimes to be flogged. "They are often flogged, and miserably flogged too," said to us one of their fellow-laborers, whom we met and conversed with on the road. The wages of field labor are cut down by law to fourpence a day, or one shilling and eightpence per week of five days, and they have no provisions found them. They have provision grounds, but these lately failed from drought, and the wonder is how they can subsist and maintain their families. "But they do subsist," said one of the functionaries to us. We had proof of this, as we looked at them in their miserable cabins, many of which were wretched enough. There are five public schools in the island, having 136 very young children, which is all the gratuitous education given, except that which is afforded, under Government license, in the Sabbath schools of the Dutch Reformed and Moravian ministers. Attended by the police master or judge, we went to the prison, which is in the fort, under a guard of soldiers. The rooms allowed to criminals and misdemeanants are more like dungeons than ordinary places of confinement for offenders. The authorities say they intend to build a new prison as soon as they can afford it, but that they must build a new hospital first. Many of the prisoners were confined for neglecting their work, leaving the estates, or using impertinent language: they are committed for one, two, or three weeks, wear an iron ring on their necks, and work in the chain-gang out of doors. Poor people from the estates, who have offensive ulcers, are sent to the fort. The disgraceful punishment of flogging for petty predial offences is on the decline, but is still practised. Larceny is rather common, and we should wonder if it were otherwise, when education is neglected—when the full wages of a laborer are only fourpence a day—and provisions are scarce and dear from the long drought. The laborers are allowed by their masters, in the very dry weather, to cut wood and sell it, in order to eke out the means of subsistence. If the people were free, they would remove to other islands where wages are better: but as serfs they are shamefully oppressed both in body and purse. The town of St. Thomas, the only town in the island, is a free port, and commands an extensive trade in the Western Archipelago. Its merchants are wealthy. It was represented to us as a very depraved place, owing greatly, we suppose, to the continual flux of foreign sailors, and a large floating population. More than half the children baptised are illegitimate; but notwithstanding the gloomy statistics afforded us, we were glad to learn that there prevails an increasing regard to outward decency of conduct, and an increasing desire to enter honorably on married life. The attendance on public worship is much larger than it was, only two years ago The minister of the Reformed church told us that he was greatly encouraged to continue in the colony, and to go on with his work. The island being small, we were able to ride over it easily in two days. The notary public of the colony, himself a planter, obligingly accompanied us and our wives in making the tour, which proved a very interesting one. The long dry weather had withered the cane crops, and had reduced the average growth of the fields, which is 2,000 hogsheads per annum, to little more than 600 hogsheads. The works on some of the estates were going fast to decay, and almost all the properties looked poverty-struck. The grand outlines of nature, however, remained the same: the views from the hills are highly picturesque and beautiful, especially at one point, where we surveyed, almost with rapture, the islands of Tortola and St. John, with the fine blue waters of the ocean between them.

ST. JOHN'S.

This island, separated from St. Thomas by a channel of the ocean, six miles broad, is the last of the Danish possessions in these seas. It has eighteen sugar estates, and contains 2.450 inhabitants. The estates are good and productive. The laboring population have nearly the same low wages, and are under the same coercive regulation, which, in some late instances, had been exercised with greater severity than the law, severe as it is, could ever have contemplated. Some well-disposed people, helpers in the Moravian church, had been flogged for slight transgressions of discipline, who had never been flogged as slaves; and we heard of one well-authenticated case, in which a young man, for stealing canes, had been so severely flogged as to die of the lacerations, four days after. The laborers, generally speaking, are abject and crouching, and unwilling to give evidence of the wrongs that come under their notice. We did not visit St. John's, through want of time, but these facts were communicated to us by trustworthy persons. No such wrongs can be practised with impunity in the British colonies, where the people are free. Emancipation, entire and unconditional, will be found the only remedy for them in the dependencies of Denmark.

TORTOLA.

This island, our own colony, has a poor soil. It produced a fair quantity of sugar when the markets were high, but now yields very little. The landowners are reduced in their circumstances, but the common people obtain a living. They subsist chiefly by cultivating their provision grounds, and selling the surplus of the produce, and by fishing.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

From The (Washington) Daily Union.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

Of the Maryland Constitutional Convention on the Fugitive Slave Case.

The committee to whom was referred the subject of the requisition of the Governor of Pennsylvania upon the Governor of this State for the delivery of James S. Mitchell, beg leave to report: That they have had the same under consideration, and have come to the conclusion that the Governor of this State did right in refusing to deliver said Mitchell to the authorities of the State of Pennsylvania; and that he deserves the thanks of the good people of this State for the firmness he has manifested in his refusal to deliver a citizen of Maryland to an unjust and unconstitutional demand made by the governor of Pennsylvania

They beg leave further to report, that they have understood that two citizens of the State of Pennsylvania, who acted as agents of James S. Mitchell in capturing his slaves, have been convicted of the crime of kidnapping, and sentenced to the penitentiary in that State. Believing, as your committee do, that the taking and delivering to said Mitchell, by the said agents, of the child of the fugitive slave woman of the said Mitchell was not a crime under the federal constitution, but in strict conformity thereto, and feeling, as they do, the deepest sympathy for the said agents, they beg leave to report the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the executive of this State be requested to instruct the attorney general to cause such proceedings to be set on foot as that the case of said agents may be brought before the Supreme Court of the United States for its adjudication.

Resolved, further, That one thousand copies of the correspondence between the governor of this State and the governor of Pennsylvania, with the accompanying documents, be printed for the use of the members of this convention.

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, ss:
William F. Johnston, Governor of the said Commonwealth, to his Excellency the Governor of the State of Maryland.

It appears by the annexed papers, duly authenticated according to the laws of this Commonwealth, that a certain J. S. Mitchell stands charged by indictment in the court of oyer and terminer and quarter sessions of the peace, held in and for the city and county of Philadelphia in this State, at December session A. D. 1850, with the crime of "kidnapping," committed in the said county of Philadelphia and State of Pennsylvania. And it has been represented to me that the said J. S. Mitchell fled from the justice of this State and has taken refuge within the State of Maryland. *Now, therefore*, pursuant to the provision of the constitution and laws of the United States in such case made and provided, I do hereby request that the said J. S. Mitchell be delivered to James Barber, who is duly authorized to receive and convey him to the State of Pennsylvania, to be dealt with according to law.

Given under my hand and the less seal of the State this 24th day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one.

[L. S.] William F. Johnston.

The undersigned P. Williamson, being duly affirmed, doth depose and say that a certain J. S. Mitchell, against whom a bill of indictment has been found in the court of quarter sessions of Philadelphia county for kidnapping one Joel Henry Thompson, is, the undersigned verily believes, at this time in the State of Maryland.

P. Williamson.

Affirmed and subscribed before me this 27th day of January, eighteen hundred and fifty-one.

Charles D. Freeman,
Alderman.

In the court of Oyer and Terminer and Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the city and county of Philadelphia, of December session, 1850.

City and County of Philadelphia, ss:

The grand inquest of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, inquiring for the city and county of Philadelphia upon their respective oaths and affirmations, do present: That James Frisby Price, late of the said county, (yeoman,) George F. Alberti, late of the said county, (yeoman,) and J. S. Mitchell, late of the said county, (yeoman,) on the first day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty, at the county aforesaid and within the jurisdiction of this court, with force and arms, &c., unlawfully and by fraud, did entice a certain free male negro child, named Joel Henry Thompson, from the said county, the said Joel then and there being, to a certain place out of the said Commonwealth—to wit, to the town of Elkton, in the State of Maryland—with the design and intention of selling and disposing of the said Joel—male negro child named Joel Henry Thompson—as a slave and servant for life, to the great injury of the said Joel, to the evil example of all others in like manner offending, contrary to the form of the act of assembly in such case made and provided, and against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

And the grand inquest aforesaid, upon their oaths and affirmations aforesaid, do further present, that the said James Frisby Price, the said George F. Alberti, and the said J. S. Mitchell afterwards—to wit, on the day and year aforesaid, and within the jurisdiction of this court—did unlawfully, by force and violence, take and carry away, and cause to be taken and carried away, a certain free male negro child, named Joel Henry Thompson, from the said county, the said Joel then and there being, to a certain place out of the said Commonwealth—to wit, to the town of Elkton, in the State of Maryland—with the design and intention of selling and disposing of the said free male negro child, named Joel Henry Thompson, as a slave and servant for life, to the great injury of the said Joel, to the evil example of all others in like manner offending, contrary to the form of the act of assembly in such case made and provided, and against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

And the grand inquest aforesaid, upon their oaths and affirmations aforesaid, do further present, that the said James Frisby Price, the said George F. Alberti, and the said J. S. Mitchell afterwards—to wit, on the day and year aforesaid—at the county aforesaid, and within the jurisdiction of this court, with force and arms, &c., the said free negro child, named Joel Henry Thompson, then and there, unlawfully and by fraud, did take and carry away from the said county, the said Joel then and there being, to a certain place out of the said Commonwealth—to wit, in Elkton, in the State of Maryland—with the design and intention of selling and disposing of the said free male negro child, named Joel Henry Thompson, to be kept and detained as a slave and servant for life, to the great injury of the said Joel, to the evil example of all others in like manner offending, contrary to the form of the act of assembly in such case made and provided, and against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

And the grand inquest aforesaid, upon their oaths and affirmations aforesaid, do further present, that the said James Frisby Price, the said George F. Alberti, and the said J. S. Mitchell afterwards—to wit, on the day and year aforesaid, at the county and within the jurisdiction aforesaid—by force and violence, did take and carry away a certain free male negro child, named Joel Henry Thompson, from the said county, the said Joel then and there being, to a certain place out of the Commonwealth—to wit, to the town of Elkton, in the State of Maryland—with the design and intention of keeping and detaining, and of causing to be kept and detained, the said free male negro child, named Joel Henry Thompson, as a slave and servant for life, to the great injury of the said Joel, to the evil example of all others in like manner offending, contrary to the form of the act of assembly in such case made and provided, and against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

And the grand inquest aforesaid, upon their oaths and affirmations aforesaid, do further present, that the said James Frisby Price, the said George F. Alberti, and the said J. S. Mitchell afterwards—to wit, on the day and year aforesaid—at the county and within the jurisdiction aforesaid, unlawfully and by fraud, did entice a certain free male negro child, named Joel Henry Thompson, from the said county, the said Joel then and there being, to a certain place out of the said Commonwealth—to wit, to the town of Elkton, in the State of Maryland—with the design and intention of keeping and detaining, and of causing to be kept and detained, the said free male child, named Joel Henry Thompson, as a slave and servant for life, to the great injury of the said Joel, to the evil example of all others in like manner offending, contrary to the form of the act of assembly in such case made and provided, and against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

And the grand inquest aforesaid, upon their oaths and affirmations, do further present, that the said James Frisby Price, the said George F. Alberti, and the said J. S. Mitchell, being persons of evil minds and dispositions, together with divers other evil-disposed persons whose names are to this inquest as yet unknown, wickedly devising and intending with force and arms, &c., did the said free male negro child, named Joel Henry Thompson, then and there unlawfully and by fraud entice from the county aforesaid, the said Joel then and there being, to a certain place out of the said Commonwealth—to wit, to the town of Elkton, in the State of Maryland—with the design and intention of selling and disposing of the said free male negro as a slave and servant for life—to wit, on the day and year aforesaid—at the county and within the jurisdiction aforesaid, fraudulently, maliciously, and unlawfully did conspire, combine, confederate, and agree together between and amongst themselves, by divers unlawful, wrongful, and indirect means, the said free male negro child, named Joel Henry Thompson, then and there unlawfully and by fraud to entice from the said county, the said Joel then and there being, to a certain place, out of the said Commonwealth—to wit, to the town of Elkton, in the State of Maryland—with the design and intention of selling and disposing of the said free male negro child, named Joel Henry Thompson, as a slave and servant for life, to the great injury of the said Joel, to the evil example of all others in like manner offending, contrary to the form of the act of assembly in such case made and provided, and against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

And the inquest aforesaid, upon their oaths and affirmations aforesaid, do further present, that the said James Frisby Price, the said George F. Alberti, and the said J. S. Mitchell, together with the said evil-disposed persons, in execution of the last-mentioned premises, and in pursuance of the said conspiracy, combination, and agreement between and amongst them as aforesaid, afterwards—to wit, on the day and year aforesaid—at the county and within the jurisdiction aforesaid, with force and arms, &c., the said free male negro child, named Joel Henry Thompson, then and there unlawfully and by fraud did entice out of the said county, the said Joel then and there being, to a certain place out of the said Commonwealth—to wit, at the town of Elkton, in the State of Maryland—with the design and intention of selling and disposing of the said free male negro child, named Joel Henry Thompson, as a slave and servant for life, to the great injury of the said Joel, to the evil example of all others in like manner offending, contrary to the act of assembly in such case made and provided, and against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

And the inquest aforesaid, upon their oaths and affirmations aforesaid, do further present that the said James Frisby Price, the said George F. Alberti, and the said J. S. Mitchell, being persons of evil minds and dispositions, together with divers other evil disposed persons whose names are to this inquest as yet unknown, wickedly devising and intending the said free male negro child, named Joel Henry Thompson, by force and violence, to take and carry from the county aforesaid, he, the said Joel, then and there being, to a certain place out of the said Commonwealth—to wit, to Elkton, in the State of Maryland—with the design and intention of selling and disposing of the said free male negro child, named Joel Henry Thompson, as a slave and servant for life, afterwards—to wit, on the day and year aforesaid—at the county and within the jurisdiction aforesaid, fradulently, maliciously and unlawfully did conspire, combine, confederate and agree together between and amongst themselves, by divers wrongful, unlawful, and indirect means, the said free male negro child, named Joel Henry Thompson, forcibly and violently to take and carry away from the said county, the said Joel then and there being, to a certain place out of this Commonwealth—to wit, to the town of Elkton, in the State of Maryland—with the design and intention of selling and disposing of the said free male negro child, named Joel Henry Thompson, as a slave and servant for life, to the great injury of the said Joel, to the evil example of all others in like manner offending, contrary to the form of the act of assembly in such case made and provided, and against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

And the grand inquest aforesaid, upon their oaths and affirmations aforesaid, do further present, that the said James Frisby Price, the said George F. Alberti, and the said J. S. Mitchell, together with the said evil disposed persons, in executiom of the last-mentioned premises, and in pursuance of the said conspiracy, combination, and agreement between and amongst them as foresaid, afterwards—to wit, on the day and year aforesaid—at the county and within the jurisdiction aforesaid, the said free male negro child, named Joel Henry Thompson, did by force and violence take and carry away from the said county, he, the said Joel, then and there being, to a certain place out of the said Commonwealth—to wit, to the town of Elkton, in the State of Maryland—with the design and intention of selling and disposing of the said free male negro child, named Joel Henry Thompson, as a slave and servant for life, to the great injury of the said Joel, to the evil example of all others in like manner offending, contrary to the form of the act of assembly in such case made and provided, and against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Horn R. Kneass, District Attorney.

I certify that the within bill of indictment is a true copy of the original, as it appears of record in the aforesaid court.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court this 20th day of January, 1851.

[L. S.] B. Sharkey, Pro. Clerk.

State Department, Annapolis, March 1, 1851.

Sir: By direction of the Governor, I respectfully submit for your legal opinion the following points, which are involved in a case upon a requisition of the Governor of Pennsylvania for the delivery of an alleged fugitive from justice, now pending in this department:

1st. Can the Governor go behind the requisition to inquire into facts not apparent upon the accompanying record? Can he take evidence of facts, *aliunde*, to dispute the jurisdiction of the State from whose executive the requisition proceeds? Can he inquire into the nature of the crime charged, and deny the requisition, if by the laws of Maryland there has been no crime committed? If the preceding questions are answered affirmatively, then—

2d. Can a person charged as an accessory or conspirator be claimed by requisition as a fugitive from the justice of a foreign State, when, in fact, he was not personally present in said State, in connection with the crime alleged?

3d. If the law of a foreign State holds that the issue born in that State of a fugitive slave is free, which by the laws of Maryland is held to be bond, and the same be recovered by the master of the mother in an otherwise legal manner, can the master be holden charged with kidnapping? Which law governs—the law of the State whence the slave mother escaped, or that of the State in which her offspring is born?

Finally, upon the facts conveyed in the last two inquiries, if proved to the satisfaction of the Governor of the State, *aliunde*, the requisition and record, can he deny the requisition without a violation of the federal constitution?

Your immediate yet most careful attention to this communication is solicited, inasmuch as there is now pending before the Governor a case the determination of which involves interests of the deepest importance not only to a private citizen, but to the State of Maryland and her sister States, with whom she is anxious to preserve amicable relations, under the equal protection of the federal compact.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
Thos. H. O'Neill,
Secretary of State.

Hon. R. J. Brent, Attorney General of Maryland.

Annapolis, March 4, 1851.

Sir: Having carefully considered the communication from your Secretary of State, Mr. O'Neill, bearing date on the 1st instant, I will proceed to reply to the several questions therein propounded. Before answering in detail each specific inquiry, I propose to examine the general character and effect of article 4, section 2, in the constitution of the United States, which controls and governs the inquiries submitted for my consideration.

The clause in question is in these words: "A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, *who shall flee from justice and be found* in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority *of the State from which he fled*, be delivered up to *be removed to the State having jurisdiction* of the crime." With a view to carry out this article of the constitution, Congress passed the act of 12th February, 1793, chapter 152, which enacts in its first section that "whenever the executive authority of any State in the Union, or of either of the Territories, &c., shall demand any person, as a fugitive from justice, of the executive authority of *any such State* or Territory *to which such person shall have fled*, and, shall, moreover, produce the copy of an indictment found, or an affidavit made before a magistrate of any State or Territory as aforesaid, charging the person so demanded with having committed treason, felony, or other crime, certified as authentic by the Governor or chief magistrate *of the State or Territory from whence the person so charged fled*, it shall be the duty of the executive authority *of the State or Territory to which such person shall have fled* to cause him or her to be arrested and secured, and notice of the arrest to be given to the executive authority making such demand, or to the agent of such authority appointed to receive the fugitive, and to cause the fugitive to be delivered to such agent when he shall appear." It will be seen that the act of Congress and the clause in the constitution of the United States are in perfect harmony as to the terms in which they describe the class of persons to be demanded and delivered up.

According to the plain import of both the constitution and the act of Congress, there must not only be a *crime charged to have been committed in the State* making the demand, but the person demanded must have fled from the State making the demand, and *must be found in the State where his surrender is required*. So far as the crime is concerned, it is enough if it appears in the affidavit or indictment produced with the requisition that a crime is *charged to have been committed* in the State making the demand. But the object of the act of Congress in *requiring the production of an affidavit or copy of an indictment* must necessarily have been to enable *the Governor upon whom the demand was made to see that a crime was charged to have* been committed in the State *making the requisition*; otherwise, there is no reason for producing such documents in evidence to the Governor, and it would have been sufficient to have provided for the requisition without any accompanying evidence.

I am therefore of opinion that the Governor of Maryland could well consider, if he chose so to do, whether an affidavit or indictment sent to him did in fact charge a crime to have been committed in the State making the requisition. In cases where an indictment was produced, the Governor would generally assume that it charged a crime, being found by a grand jury, although it might eventually be quashed by the court where it was found, because it charged no crime on its face. But where the charge of a crime depends upon the private *ex parte* affidavit of an individual, the Governor of Maryland, before he complies with the requisition, should see that it does on its face charge a crime, unless he is willing through comity to assume that the Governor making the demand had examined into the legal sufficiency of the charge before sending for the criminal. I regard it, therefore, as a question for the consideration of the executive, whether the affidavit or copy of the indictment sent for his inspection does charge a crime to have been committed *in the State sending the requisition*; and however reluctant he should be to question the sufficiency of the charge, yet cases may occur where it would be his duty to examine the law of his sister State, and decide upon his responsibility whether a crime was charged. And so in regard to the fact whether the person demanded is *a fugitive from justice*. I consider that the Governor who is asked to surrender the criminal has the undoubted right to decide whether "he has fled from justice." Why is it that the demand shall be made on *the Governor of a State?* Unless there was some good reason for it, the power to surrender might as well have been lodged in the courts or any judge thereof.

But the chief magistrate of a State is the head of the political power of the State, and, as such, bound to protect his fellow citizens, and even transient sojourners, from injustice and oppression while dwelling in the peace and under the sovereignty of the State. Should the Governor refuse to surrender the criminal, there is no redress for the sister State—no remedy provided by which acquiescence can be enforced. It is, therefore, a power left in the chief executive officer, from political considerations, to be exercised or not, upon his conscience and responsibility. I consider it clear that the criminal demanded must *have fled from the State which seeks his recapture.* The words are plain and explicit; but it may be contended that a man may offend against the penal code of a State without having ever been in that State. There can be no doubt that the laws of a State may be so framed as to declare an act criminal, though perpetrated out of its jurisdiction, if the consequences are calculated to invade the peace and tranquility or property of the citizens of that State; and I do not deny that one of our citizens might be amenable to the criminal justice of Pennsylvania when, in fact, he never was in that State. But something more is required under the constitution of the United States: he must *have fled from Pennsylvania* before he can be demanded or surrendered. It is not enough to say that a man who has always been absent from the jurisdiction may be charged with a constructive crime. Before he can be legally demanded in the State where he is residing, the constitution presupposes that he has fled from the State having jurisdiction of the crime. Can a man who has never been in the jurisdiction of a State be considered by construction of law as having been legally present, and then by another construction of law be declared to have fled from that State in which he never was in fact present at all? This would be to mount a construction upon a construction, and to destroy the plain import and meaning of the words "who shall flee." The object and design of the constitution were to secure the recapture of persons who had committed a crime in one State and then fled to another State as an asylum or sanctuary. It never occurred to the framers of that instrument to secure the delivery of criminals who had never fled from one State to the other. Great evils may result from the omission so to provide. For illustration: a man may, on the borders of his State, wantonly shoot across the line and kill a person in an adjoining State. He may do this openly, and in the light of day: and yet, if he has not fled from the State where his victim is shot, he cannot be demanded as a fugitive. In such a case, and until the federal constitution may be amended, the punishment of such crimes must be left with the State where the offender resides. On the other hand, great evils would spring from allowing a State to extend its criminal code, in any manner its legislature might think proper, to charge persons residing in other States with a violation of its laws, and then to demand the person charged as a fugitive, because he is absent from the jurisdiction where the charge is made. If such was the settled practice, innocent citizens might be seized and surrendered to answer, in a distant State, some charge of constructive crime enacted into the form of law by the legislature for political considerations; and even this might be extended to demands by foreign nations.

Suppose, for example, that a treaty should be formed between Russia and the United States for the delivery of persons fleeing from justice; Russia might immediately declare any man in any part of the world guilty of a high crime who should publish and disseminate through the public mails in that country doctrines subversive of monarchical institutions, and then a prosecution being found in the courts of Russia against one of our eminent statesmen who had in his place in the Capitol proclaimed the right of the people to self-government, he might be claimed as a *fugitive* because he was not found in Russia to answer the charge. I am therefore of the opinion that no man can be said to have fled from justice in a State unless he has, while in that State, offended against its laws, and then fled to another State. In such a case, removal would be taken as sufficient evidence of flight in the meaning of the constitution.

The remaining inquiry is, whether, after a requisition is made, setting forth that the party is a *fugitive*, the governor upon whom the demand is made can go behind the requisition to investigate and decide the fact of his being a fugitive. It seems to me perfectly right and proper in such a case to go behind the requisition

First, because so far as the Constitution speaks, the executive, upon whom the demand is made, has as much right to decide the fact as the executive who makes that demand. The Constitution presupposes that the party to be surrendered is a fugitive, and gives no express power to either executive to decide the question, *if disputed;* therefore the one has as much right to decide as the other, so far as the language of the Constitution is to be construed.

Secondly, the right to surrender turning on the fact of having fled, it would be harsh and unjust that the right of the party should be prejudged, and conclusively settled by the *ex parte* statements contained in the requisition.

Thirdly, practically the power to decide the question should be vested in the last resort in the governor who is called on to surrender, because his refusal is conclusive, and there is no power to review or reverse his action. Upon this question there is no dearth of legal authority, and, after much research, I have not been able to find any adjudged cases directly in point. The case of the Mormon prophet, Joe Smith, reported in 3 McLeans Reports, (127,) may, however, be consulted as fully sustaining the views of this opinion. Indeed, that case went much further; for the court, on *habeas corpus*, not only went behind the requisition of the governor of Missouri, but behind the warrant of the governor of Illinois for the arrest and delivery of the prophet; and, going behind these documents, they decided that he could not be surrendered, *because he had committed no crime in Missouri*, and incidentally remarked that "*it must appear that he fled from Missouri to authorize the governor of Missouri to demand him.*" So far as I can inform myself of the practice of the executive of Maryland, it has been, even when a copy of the indictment is produced as the foundation for a requisition, to require an affidavit that the party *has fled from* justice, or that the deponent has reason to believe so; otherwise, one of our citizens who had gone on transient business to Philadelphia might be pursued by an enemy upon the charge of a trifling assault, and, through the instrumentality of a requisition, dragged ignominiously back to the State where he had left his family, and where he would voluntarily have returned, perhaps, the next day. To guard against such abuses every executive should require the preliminary proof of the party having fled; and though even then it would not be conclusive on the executive upon whom the requisition might be made, it would measurably prevent the abuse of the power to make the requisition.

1st. To your first inquiry, therefore, I respond that you can go behind the requisition of the governor of Pennsylvania to inquire into facts not apparent on the record, and can take such evidence as may be satisfactory to yourself to dispute the jurisdiction of the State from whose executive the requisition proceeds. You can, however, inquire into the nature of the crime charged only so far as to see that there is an offence charged as against the laws of Pennsylvania, and thereby made criminal; but you cannot say, in denial of the requisition, that no crime has been committed according to the *laws of Maryland*.

2d. A person charged as an accessory or conspirator cannot be claimed as a fugitive from the justice of a foreign State, when, in fact, he was not personally present in the said State in connexion with the crime charged.

3d. If the law of a foreign State (being one of the United States) holds that the issue born in that State of a fugitive slave is free, which, by the law of Maryland, is held to be bond, and the same be recovered by the master of the mother in an otherwise legal manner, then, in my deliberate opinion, the master cannot be charged with the crime of kidnapping in a foreign State. It does not turn, as your third inquiry seems to intimate, upon the question which law governs—the law of the State whence the slave mother escaped, or that of the State in which her offspring was born—but the answer to the inquiry is to be found in the clause of the federal constitution which declares that "no person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, *in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from* such service or labor, *but shall be delivered up* on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." Under this protecting clause no *law or regulation* of Pennsylvania can impair the master's right in his fugitive female slave, but it exists during her flight and concealment as fully, to all intents, as if she never had fled. One of the incidents to that right is, not only to recapture and posses the mother, but *such increase* as she may have while in her fugitive condition. Any law or act of Pennsylvania which would impair the right to the *incident or natural increase* of the fugitive property would be as *null and void* as if it sought to deny the right to the property itself; therefore, if an affidavit should accompany the requisition, setting forth specially that the charge was for kidnapping the issue of the party's own slave, it would, on its face, be no charge, because the Constitution of the United States, being paramount law in each State, would upon these special facts, protect the party from being a criminal. And so in like manner if the indictment sent with the requisition showed the same special facts, it would not on its face *charge a crime*, as the Constitution of the United States would acquit the person charged on such facts. But if the affidavit or indictment does not disclose the real facts of the case, then you have the power, as before shown, to inquire and satisfy yourself whether, on the facts, *aliunde*, the requisition and record, the person claimed was guilty of a crime in Pennsylvania. This power is in you, but should be rarely exercised when no indictment is to be found. In my opinion this is a case where it should be exercised, as otherwise an innocent man may be dragged into Pennsylvania, and convicted under a law or decision of that State which is subversive of the Constitution of the United States. I would therefore advise that the executive veto be interposed to protect one of our own citizens form any such demand, if you are satisfied that he is innocent, under the federal constitution, of any crime against Pennsylvania, though her courts might even convict him.

Finally, upon the facts conveyed in the second and third inquiries referred to me, I think, if they are proved to your satisfaction, you can deny the requisition without a violation of the federal constitution—

1st. Because the party charged is no fugitive from justice;

2d. Because it cannot be a crime in Pennsylvania, under the Constitution of the United States, for a master to recapture his runaway female slave, with the offspring she may have borne while a fugitive from service.

Yours,
Robert M. Brent.

His Excellency E. Lewis Lowe, Governor of Maryland,

Governor Lowe's Letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania.

State Department,
Annapolis, Md., March 5, 1851.

Sir:—On the first day of this month Mr. James Barber, the agent appointed by your excellency for that purpose, presented at this department your requisition for the delivery of a certain J. S. Mitchell, a citizen of Cecil county, of this State, who, as it appears from the accompanying copy of the indictment, stands charged by the grand jury of the city and county of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, with the crime of kidnapping a free negro boy named Joel Henry Thompson.

Shortly after my induction into office, which occurred on the sixth day of January last, I was called upon by Mr. J. S. Mitchell, and advised of the probability of this proceeding, inasmuch as information had been received by him of the indictment above mentioned.

In that interview he made me the following statement, to wit: That in eighteen hundred and forty-five or thereabouts, one of his negro slave women absconded from Cecil county, in this State, and took refuge in Pennsylvania; that she was gone for or about five years; that during her absence from this State as a fugitive slave, she gave birth to a child, (the same described in the indictment as the free negro boy charged to have been kidnapped,) and that he, through agents residing (I believe) in Pennsylvania, recovered both mother and child in a peaceable and legal manner.

He distinctly avers that he himself was not personally within the limits of Pennsylvania engaged in the recovery of the woman and child, but that they were delivered to him at Elkton, in this State, the place of his residence, by the agents whom he had employed for that purpose. Mr. Mitchell is represented to me as being a most worthy citizen. This of itself would add to my obligation to investigate the facts of the case before subjecting him to the possible degradation of a conviction and sentence under the law of Pennsyluania touching the issue involved in this case, which is known to be wholly at variance with the law of Maryland, and and which I regard as inconsistent with the federal constitution.

But there are other considerations of paramount importance, altogether far outweighing any anxiety, however great, which I may naturally be supposed to feel for the protection of the rights and liberties of a citizen of the State over which I have the honor to preside.

The case before me is one of great public interest.—No citizen of Maryland can fail to consider the case his own; for his own security may be affected by the principle which I am called upon to recognise through my action herein. I am frank to say to your excellency that I promptly assured Mr. Mitchell, in the interview before mentioned, that if the statement made by him to me was ascertained to be correct, and my official obligations, under the constitution of Maryland and the United States, authorized me to look behind the requisition of your excellency into the merits of the case, I would respectfully decline to deliver him up, to be punished by the law of Pennsylvania, for that which is expressly recognised as lawful in Maryland, and, in my judgment, guarantied by the federal and paramount law. These points presented themselves for my consideration:

First. How far [if at all] had I the right, under the federal constitution, to go behind the requisition and judge of its propriety?

Secondly. This right conceded, it remained to be asked, could a resident of Maryland, who had never, in fact, been personally present in Pennsylvania in connexion with an alleged offence, but was only chargeable as accessory within the territory of Maryland, be considered a fugitive from the justice of Pennsylvania?—And,

Thirdly. Had Pennsylvania the right to abjudicate freedom to the issue of a fugitive slvae because born within her territory, and therefore to charge the master of the mother with the crime of kidnapping, because in taking possession of the slave mother, he also took the child, which, by the law of Maryland, expressly, and by the federal constitution inferentially, is held to be a slave?

Upon these two last points I entertained no doubt or hesitation. I conceived that the fourth article of the second section of the constitution of the United States, which provides for executive requisitions, clearly contemplates the case where a criminal has fled from the offended laws of the State, whence the requisition proceeds, and is found in the State to which it is directed.

Neither could I doubt, as to the third point, that the issue of a slave woman, born of her in another State, whilst in the condition of a fugitive, is subject to the laws of the State from which the mother had fled.

The federal constitution recognizes the *fugitive condition*. It is immaterial whether it continue for a day or a year; the principle is the same. In the eye of the federal constitution the fugitive has not thrown off the *lex loci*—else freedom would result to the fugitive herself. Neither can her issue, born during her unlawful absconding, be vested with privileges in derogation of the law of *partis sequitir ventrem*, and as the fugitive condition of the slave mother in Pennsylvania could impart no independent right to her issue, I hold that the boy Joel Henry Thompson was in fact the slave of Mr. Mitchell, and that the charge in the indictment is in fact not criminal. The sole difficulty in my judgment, consisted in the power to go behind the requisition and record, which are presented to me in due form. On this point (as also the others) I respectfully refer your excellency to the lucid opinion of the Hon. R. S. Brent, attorney general of Maryland, a copy of which is herewith enclosed,

Entirely concurring in opinion with the attorney general I have been brought to the conclusion that it is my duty to examine into the facts of this case before I can consent to issue a warrant for the apprehension of Mr. Mitchell. If, upon the evidence of competent and creditable witnesses, under oath, Mr. Mitchell shall make it appear to my satisfaction that the boy Joel Henry Thompson was the child of his (Mitchell's) fugitive slave, born during the period of her servitude to him, or if he shall in the same manner prove to me that he was not personally present in Pennsylvania, engaged either as principal or accessory, in perpetration of the act charged, I shall feel it my duty most respectfully to decline acting under the requisition of your excellency. In the former case, I would consider it improper on the part of a governor of Maryland to aid in subjecting, voluntarily, one of his innocent constituents (to whom he owes protection by all lawful means) to punishment and degradation for quietly taking possession of that which the law of Maryland claims for him as his property, and which the federal constitution recognizes, by implication, as such.

In the second case, I should not consider the requisition of your excellency warranted by the facts, in view of the prerequisites contemplated by the article of the federal constitution, before referred to, in relation to fugitives from justice.

On the other hand, if it shall appear that Mr. Mitchell has made himself amenable to the injured laws of Pennsylvania, and afterwards fled from her jurisdiction, and should it turn out that Joel Henry Thompson was not in fact the slave of Mr. Mitchell, as he alleges, but a free citizen of the State of Pennsylvania, as is alleged in the indictment, then, with no sympathy whatever for the perpetrator of so heinous an offence as the one charged, I shall promptly aid your excellency in vindicating the outraged laws of your honored State.

With this view, I shall proceed immediately to institute the necessary inquiries, the result of which shall be communicated to your excellency with all convenient speed.

It can scarcely be necessary for me to assure your excellency of the ardent desire cherished by the people and the government of Maryland to cultivate the most friendly relations and intercourse with our sister States of the Union, especially in these days of common peril, when our institutions are threatened by law-despising men in every section of the land.

And I sincerely hope that the course which I have felt it my duty to adopt in the present instance will not be viewed, either by your excellency or the patriotic people over whom you preside, as indicative of a want of that comity and good feeling on the part of Maryland which should ever characterize the intercourse between members of this confederacy.

I have the honor to be, with distinguished consideration, your excellency's obedient servant,
E. Louis Lowe, Governor of Maryland.

To His Excellency the Governor of Pennsylvania.

Depositions taken at the town of Elkton, Cecil county, Maryland, before George H. Joyce, Esq., a justice of the peace of the State aforesaid, in and for the said county, in the presence and under the supervision of Edward M. Wise, special agent appointed for that purpose by his excellency the governor, in the matter of the requisition of his excellency the governor of Pennsylvania, for the delivery of a certain James S. Mitchell of said county, who stands charged in the State last aforesaid with the crime of kidnapping.

Alexander Maxwell, a competent witness of lawful age, being produced on the part of the said J. S. Mitchell, and duly sworn upon the Holy Evangely of Almighty God, deposeth and saith, that, some time last summer, a man arrived in the town of Elkton, calling himself a Mr. Alberti, having in his charge and custody a negro woman and her child claimed as slaves by James S. Mitchell, of Cecil county, and that this deponent accompanied the said Alberti to the said Mitchell's residence, and upon their arrival there the said Mitchell was at home, and returned with the said Alberti and his deponent to the said town of Elkton.

The said negro woman and child were left at the said town of Elkton, until the said Mitchell, Alberti, and this deponent returned; and this deponent has no knowledge of any other negro woman or child having been brought to the said town for the said Mitchell.

Alexander Maxwell.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this fifteenth day of March, anno Domini 1851.

George H. Joyce.

John S. Haines, a competent witness, of lawful age, being produced on the part of the said J. S. Mitchell, and duly sworn on the Holy Evangely of Almighty God, deposeth and saith;

1st. That Mr. J. S. Mitchell was not personally present in Pennsylvania, (neither was he engaged, to the best of his knowledge and belief,) either as principal or accessory, in the enticement, siezure, or transportation out of the said State of the said boy, Joel Henry Thompson.

2d. That this deponent was present with Mr. James S. Mitchell in Elkton on the day that the said fugitive slave woman and her child were brought to this town; that the said woman Betsy recognized and acknowledged Mr. J. S. Mitchell as her master, and that the boy Joel Henry Thompson (acknowledging that to be his name) was her son.

John S. Haines.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this fifteenth day of March, anno Domini 1851.

George H. Joyce.

Richard Grason, Esq., a competent witness of lawful age, being produced on the part of the said J. S. Mitchell, and duly sworn on the Holy Evangely of Almighty God, deposeth and saith:

That he is well acquainted with James S. Mitchell, Esq, of said county, and that said Mitchell was in the town of Elkton, in said county, and the office of said Grason, two days before the negro women claimed as a fugitive slave by said Mitchell, and her infant son, were brought to the said town of Elkton by a certain Alberti, of Pennsylvania, and that he, the said Mitchell, remained in said town during that night, and the next morning after breakfast left the said town in his carriage to attend a camp meeting, about ten miles from said town; that on the following day the said Alberti arrived at the said town of Elkton, having the said negro woman and child in charge, and procured a conveyance and left the said town of Elkton for the residence of the said Mitchell, in the lower part of the said county: and late in the evening of the same day the said Mitchell and Alberti returned to said town in company.

The said negro woman acknowledged, in the presence of said Grason, that she was the slave of J. S. Mitchell, and that the child which she then held in her arms was her child.

The said Grason has no knowledge whatever, nor does he believe, that the said J. S. Mitchell was in the State of Pennsylvania for a long time previously to the occurrences above mentioned.

The said Grason has no knowledge of any negro woman or child having been brought from Pennsylvania or elsewhere to the said county for the said Mitchell, other than those above mentioned.

Richard Grason.

Sworn to and subscribed before me on this 15th day of March, anno Domini 1851.

George H. Joyce.

Joseph Wells, a competent witness of lawful age, being produced on the part of the said J. S. Mitchell, and duly sworn upon the Holy Evangely of Almighty God, deposeth and saith, that on the preceding day of the arrival of the fugitive slave woman and her son, Joel Henry Thompson, at the town of Elkton, he was in company with the said J. S. Mitchell, within a few miles from Elkton, at a camp-meeting on the Delaware line; that he frequently saw Mr. Mitchell during said day, and verily believes he was not in the State of Pennsylvania, either as principal or accessory, engaged in the capture of said slaves.

Joseph Wells.

Sworn to and subscribed before me on this 15th day of March, 1851.

George H. Joyce.

State of Maryland, Cecil county, sct:

I hereby certify that George H. Joyce, Esq., before whom the annexed affidavits were made, and who has thereunto subscribed his name, was at the time of so doing one of the justices of the peace of the State aforesaid, in and for the county aforesaid, duly commissioned and sworn.

In testimony whereof I hereto set my hand, and the seal of Cecil county court affix, this fifteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one.

[L. S.] R. C. Hollyday,
Clerk of Cecil County Court.

Governor Lowe's letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania.

State Department,
Annapolis, (Md.,) March 20, 1851.

Sir: I had the honor on the 5th instant to address your excellency in relation to the case of J. S. Mitchell, who is charged by the grand jury of Philadelphia city and county with the crime of kidnapping a certain Joel Henry Thompson. In that note I informed your excellency of the position which I felt it to be my duty to assume. I also assured your excellency that Mr. Mitchell would be required to sustain the statement which he had previously made to me (and which I have communicated to your excellency) by the evidence of competent and credible witnesses under oath. Accordingly, on the 14th instant, I despatched a special messenger to the town of Elkton, in Cecil county, where the depositions of several competent and credible witnesses were taken under his immediate supervision.

From the evidence I am satisfied—

1st. That Mr. Mitchell was not personally present within the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania engaged in the capture or transportation of the mother and child, either as principal or accessory in any manner whatever; and

2dly. That the boy Joel Henry Thompson was the child of Mr. Mitchell's slave woman Betsey, born during the period of her absconding.

In accordance, therefore, with the principles laid down in my note of the 5th instant, I must very respectfully decline to issue a warrant for the apprehension of Mr. Mitchell under the requisition of your excellency.

I have the honor to be, with distinguished consideration, your excellency's obedient servant,
E. Louis Lowe.

His Excellency the Governor of Pennsylvania.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment....Without Compromise.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 8, 1851.

SEVENTEENTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

By the 8th article of the Constitution, it is provided that "the Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held each year at such time and place as the Executive Committee may direct." Hitherto, since the formation of the Society, the annual meeting has been uniformly held in the city of New York, and usually in the Broadway Tabernacle. So absolute, however, is the sway of the Slave Power in this city, and such the fear of mobocratic excesses, (stimulated by "the Union Committee" on the one hand, and the lawless Rynders and his crew on the other,) that no meeting-house or hall, in this great city, can be procured, either for the love of liberty or for gold, for the accommodation of the Society. Neither in the adjacent city of Brooklyn can any suitable building be obtained for this purpose.

Leaving these cities to the historical infamy which awaits them, the Executive Committee, in accordance with the urgent request of the friends of impartial liberty in Western New York, hereby give notice that the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held at SYRACUSE, (N. Y.) on Wednesday, May 7th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.—at which time and place they earnestly invite a full attendance of its members and friends; believing that the crisis is such, in the conviction of every intelligent mind, both as to the preservation of our own liberties and the emancipation of the millions who are still clanking the fetters of Slavery, as to render needless any special appeal.

It is with great pleasure the Committee announce that their distinguished and eloquent coadjutor, Geo. Thompson, M. P., has promised to give his attendance, and participate in the proceedings. The Rev. Theodore Parker, of Boston, has also signified his intention to be with us on the occasion, if practicable, as well as other able advocates of "liberty, equality, fraternity." A series of meetings, of the most interesting and stirring character, may be confidently expected. Much reliance is placed on the readiness and determination of the friends of the cause at the West to improve this opportunity to commune with their brethren from the East.

In behalf of the Executive Committee,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*
Wendell Phillips, } *Secretaries.*
Sydney Howard Gay, }

☞ Editors of papers are respectfully requested to notify their readers of the time and place of holding this Anniversary.

It is now near three thousand years since the Hebrew Prophet put into rememberable verse the truth that "there is no peace to the wicked." The history of mankind ever since, as well as always before, has confirmed the truth of the apothegm, and yet mankind seem as far off from receiving it as when Isaiah first uttered it in the ears of unbelieving Israel. Indeed, one would judge, from the care with which they seek to preserve and protect their wickedness, that they esteem them the things that do most pertain unto their peace instead of being essentially incompatible with it. Peace is what all nations, as well as all men, pursue as the main condition of happiness; not peace as distinguished from war, especially, but the quiet enjoyment of possessions and institutions, and freedom from disturbance or alarm with regard to them. Yet how few either of men or nations recognize the truth that righteousness—a scrupulous observance of moral obligations and a careful regard to all the rights of others—is indispensable to this peace and safety. Few men, indeed, and no nations, have advanced to the perception of these axioms on which depends the solution of all moral and political problems. Or rather, perhaps, they have an instinctive feeling that what is good in their customs and laws will take care of itself, while it is the evil that is in them that calls for nurture and protection. Certainly, they appear to cling to their vices and their mischiefs as if they were all that made existence a blessing.

There are not many persons in this country that boldly avow that Slavery is a blessing *per se*, and therefore to be cherished and defended. Indeed, the great mass of the self-constituted expounders of popular opinion, in the North at least, profess to regard it as a moral evil and an abstract wrong. And yet what has been the burden of national political action and of the answering responses of press and pulpit for years, and especially for the last eight months, but the duty of non-interference with this evil and wrong, and denunciation of those who are aiming their blows at it. The American People have been at issue with the Almighty for the last sixty years, if the son of Amoz rightly expressed the Divine Mind. "There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked." "The country must have peace," saith Daniel Webster, and the cry is re-echoed through the land. But how? By strengthening the bands of wickedness and agreeing to be even worse than our fathers, in the days of their comparative ignorance, engaged for us that we should be! Now the battle is joined, and we shall see which of the combatants will prevail. We have no fears as to the result. Although the odds often seem to the eyes that look only on the outward appearance against the success of the Truth, yet they that be with her are more than they that be against her, as is always found in the issue of the battle. We do not believe that there is any Titanic power in that "least erected" as well as most impious and cruel of fiends which the American people now exalt above all that is called God, that can depose the Ruler of the Universe and bring his counsels to naught.

In every attempt to remove political or moral evils, the days of darkness are many. Men say, things shall be forever as they now are. What can change the front of opposition that now ranges itself against the Right? The great Statesmen, the eminent Divines, the reverend Judges, the learned lawyers, the wealthy landholders and merchants, are all banded together to repel Innovation and to hinder these latter days from being made better than those of old. But the Earth goes on revolving round the Sun; decay and change and death pursue their inevitable course; the strong man grows old and dies; the child is born and grows up; the condition of flux and efflux never ceases; and lo! ere men are aware, all things are become new. Fresh eyes look upon the world and it is changed. How looked the chances that the Slave Trade would ever be branded as piracy, to the contemporaries of Clarkson? What was the reasonable probability of entire Emancipation when the Slave Trade was put under the ban of Civilization? And, yet, more than a generation has passed away since the first was accomplished, and one has more than half grown up since the last was complete. Men yet live who remember when Priestly was mobbed for holding opinions which are now those of the governing majority in England, and when Attorney General Scott was trying to hang Hardy and Horne Tooke for doctrines which make Prime Ministers now. In 1793, Fox declined joining the Society of the Friends of the People on the ground that "though he saw great and enormous abuses in the Representation in Parliament, he confessed that he did not see the remedy." Sheridan had no more faith than Fox in the feasibility of Parliamentary Reform, and advocated Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage because the subject was thus opened without the possibility of being closed by success. And yet the next Parliament will count among its members men born since the bloodless Revolution of 1832.

The history of our own country is full of the same sort of instruction. What likelihood was there a century ago that in twenty-five years the American Colonies would be transformed into the United States? How few discerned the remote beginnings and dim prognostications of the American war! When Mr. Garrison first preached the doctrine of Immediate Emancipation twenty years ago, who would have believed that at this time there would be a recognized Representation (accepted as such by the Slave Power) in the Senate and House of Representatives at Washington, of the Idea which was then counted of men as foolishness? Who would have dreamed that Slavery, a topic which all men seemed agreed to ignore, would be the great and absorbing theme of thought and of action, in so few short years? Testing characters, trying opinions, separating the precious from the vile and showing the worth of religious professions and political pretences? Yet this is but the beginning of the end. Where in ten short years will be the men that now, lords of the scene, strut their little hour upon the stage? Calhoun has already had his exit, and the curtain has fallen upon him. In ten years Webster, Clay, Benton, Houston, Cass, almost all the prominent men in public life, will have passed away in the due course of nature, from the stage of affairs, though they may still linger, lagging veterans, upon that of life. Who are to take their places? God knows. But we know that the school in which men are now trained for the arena is very different from the one that formed the passing generation of politicians. Great Ideas are abroad challenging the encounter of youth. Angels wrestle with men of this generation, as with the patriarch of old, and it is their own fault if they do not compel a blessing from them ere they depart. In the earlier days of the Republic there were Principles which elevated men into Statesmen; then followed a generation when Policies dwarfed them into politicians. Principles are again in the field. Principles upon the prevalence of which depends the settlement of the question of the fitness of this People to govern themselves. They are to work out the problem whether we are capable of a true Republic, or whether the ridiculous mockery of one which insults and debases us is the best that we are fit for.

We have faith that there is yet *stamina* enough in the people, at least of the Northern States, to throw off this cruel distemperature. We believe that men will not consent to be degraded by such a companionship as that of Slavery, forever. That they will either destroy it or come out and be separate from it. That this consummation will be brought about soon or suddenly we do not expect. The Slaveholders have an apparent advantage; but it is only apparent. The odds against them are terrible, and they know it. Their very desperation shows that they know it. They have the American government, the American pulpit, the American press on their side; but the humanity, the Christianity of the nation and of the world is against them. Never before was there so plain a contest between Tyranny, Ignorance, Barbarism, and Freedom, Knowledge and Civilization, with the whole world for spectators. The method of the battle we cannot foretell; but of the final victory we are assured. It will be a desperate, it may be a bloody, fight; but the result is not doubtful. The philosophy of its progress thus far may not be inaptly described in the noble language of Erskine, in the House of Commons, speaking of that of Parliamentary Reform, prophetic words of truth in both cases. "The cause was to be put down at all events, and all who maintained it were to be stigmatized, persecuted and oppressed. But the insolence with which the hopeful changes of the rising world were denounced within these walls, is an awful lesson to mankind. It has taught that there is an arm fighting against the oppressors of Freedom stronger than any arm of flesh, and that the great progressions of the world, in spite of the confederacies of power and the conspiracies of corruption, move on with a steady pace and arrive in the end at a happy and glorious consummation!"—E. Q.

RESIGNATION OF THE EDITOR OF THE BUGLE.

The last number of the *Anti-Slavery Bugle* announces the resignation of Oliver Johnson as its editor. Mr. Johnson has for two years past as a lecturer given the most efficient aid to the Anti-Slavery cause in Ohio, and has justified in the *Bugle* his well-earned and long established reputation as an editor. Though we regret that the cause in the West should lose so valuable an agent we trust it will only be to its advantage in some other locality. Mr. Johnson, in his letter of resignation to the Executive Committee of the Society, says:

To the Executive Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society:

Dear Friends: At your meeting held March 2d a vote was passed by five yeas to three nays in favor of employing me to edit *The Anti-Slavery Bugle* for another year from the first of June next. It is now my duty to inform you that after mature reflection, I have concluded not to accept the invitation thus extended to me. I fully appreciate the reasons (wholly of a pecuniary nature) which constrained the minority to vote against my re-engagement, and which I fear operated to discourage some who voted in the affirmative; but, in view of all the circumstances, it has seemed clear to my mind that duty both to the cause and to myself demanded that I should resign my post. In doing so, however, I desire to acknowledge the kindness which I have ever received at the hands of the Committee, collectively and individually. When I commenced my labors in Ohio I was a stranger to most of you, but you received me as a friend and brother, and my cares and responsibilities have been made lighter by your hearty co-operation and sympathy. How I have discharged the duties of the station to which your partiality called me, or whether my labors have been satisfactory to you or beneficial to the cause, it is not for me to say; but I may at least derive pleasure from the reflection, that in my intercourse with you during the last two years nothing has occurred to mar the friendship which a common interest in a good cause so naturally inspires, and which I trust will long survive the dissolution of our official ties. I shall part from you and from many others in Ohio with sincere regret, with earnest wishes for your peace, prosperity and happiness, and in "full assurance of hope" of the speedy triumph of the cause in which we are joyful co-laborers. May yours be the faith that no mountains of difficulty can dishearten, yours the courage that is appalled by no danger, and yours the devotion that never tires in a good cause.

At the last meeting of the Committee I gave notice, that if I should not conclude to remain in Ohio another year, it might be necessary for me to leave the last of the present month. I would now inform you that it is my intention to close my connection with *The Bugle* with the issue for April 26th.

Yours, fraternally,
OLIVER JOHNSON.

At a meeting of the Committee at which this communication was read, it was resolved on motion of Marius R. Robinson, seconded by K. G. Thomas,

That this Committee have learned with deep regret that Oliver Johnson has resolved to discontinue his connection with *The Anti-Slavery Bugle*.

That his able and devoted labors among us, as Editor and Lecturer, during the last two years, have secured for him our respect and given him a place in the warmest affections of our hearts.

The Committee afterward passed the following Resolutions, as a temporary arrangement for the editorial care of their paper:

Resolved, That Marius R. Robinson be invited to become Financial and Publishing Agent of the Society, and to take charge of The Bugle from the first of May until a permanent Editor can be obtained.

Resolved, That Benjamin S. Jones, Jas. Barnaby and Sallie B. Gove are hereby appointed to take temporary charge of The Bugle in case M. R. Robinson should decline accepting the above appointment, or be unable to enter upon its duties as early as the first of May.

ANNIVERSARY WEEK.

New York, if we are not much mistaken, misses, this week, the annual stirring-up which has hitherto, for some years, been afforded it by the Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The regular meeting-goers have found, we doubt not, the Christian Union, which occupied the Tabernacle on Tuesday morning, is but a poor substitute for the exciting and brilliant eloquence of a Phillips, a Douglass, a Parker, a Garrison, or a Furness to which hitherto on that day and in that place they have been permitted to listen. Nor are they the only disappointed people. The Union Committee, Capt. Rynders, and other blackguards, are vexed that an opportunity is lost for extra drinks and extra patriotism, and are more especially annoyed with the consciousness that the retreat of the Society to Syracuse is rather a triumph than a defeat. They lament their mistake in compelling all owners of public buildings to deny accommodation to the American Society, and would undoubtedly have preferred to have kept it where it could be easily mobbed. *The Herald* announces that the two important meetings of the season are the State Convention of South Carolina, and the Convention at Syracuse, so evident is it to the class which that paper represents that a change of locality by no means effects a change in the character of the Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Anniversary week, however, we presume, goes on, in other respects, much as usual, though we cannot vouch for the fact, inasmuch as we have no knowledge of it from personal observation. But of this much we are quite certain that no voice is raised against the gigantic crime of the nation, and that while every hour of the day and evening, from Monday morning to Saturday night, will be burdened with prayers, the priests will pass by unheeding and with averted faces their poor and bleeding countrymen who have fallen among thieves.

In this sweeping remark we make no exception save, in some measure, in behalf of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. It is not our purpose nor our wish to open old wounds, but we cannot help remarking how significant a fact it is that that Society which was conceived and has existed only through the strength of its opposition to the American Society should hold its meetings unmolested, in the very place, whence the American Society is driven, and that not one word of that outrage upon Free Speech and Anti-Slavery is uttered there. We copy, however, below, the Resolutions passed at its Anniversary, that we may not be said to do it injustice, with the single remark that we hope that it may in some future year solve the doubt implied in the alternative presented in the 19th Resolution by which it means to measure its friendly feeling towards the Union and Constitution. Thus far, we think, on that particular point, the Union Committee will quite agree with it.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. Resolved, That American Slavery is the most sinful, cruel and merciless system that has prevailed in any civilized country, inasmuch as, under the light of the gospel, it deprives men, not only guiltless, but unaccused of crime, of every civil and religious right; denies them legal compensation for any wrong however grievous; annihilates in regard to them the conjugal and parental relations; consigns them at pleasure to heathenism; withholds from them the Bible; and reduces them to the condition of brutes.

2. Resolved, That it is our right to condemn, and by lawful means to abolish sinful institutions wherever existing; that it is the peculiar right of American citizens to express orally or through the press, their opinions of the conduct of their representatives, and of the laws passed by them; and that every attempt to prevent or control the free expression of opinion is an outrage upon the constitutional rights of the citizen, and a dangerous assault upon the liberties of the country.

3. Resolved, That we have never proposed to abolish Slavery by any unconstitutional act, nor to infringe upon the rights of the States; our Doctrine being universal emancipation without compensation, and our Measures, under God, moral suasion and the Ballot-Box.

4. Resolved, That we deem the Fugitive Slave Bill unconstitutional and inhuman, a disgrace to the country, an outrage upon civil liberty, deserving the reprobation of every friend of God and man; and that it should be disobeyed by every person who is not willing and does not deserve, to wear the chain and submit to the lash of Southern despots.

5. Resolved, That every man who has taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and who believes the Fugitive Slave Bill unconstitutional, is solemnly bound to oppose this enactment; and that in the language of Mr. Justice McLean, "An unconstitutional act of Congress imposes no obligation on a State, or the People of a State, and may be resisted by an individual or community."

6. Resolved, That we believe that the late act of Congress for the recovery of fugitive slaves makes demands upon individuals to which they cannot yield obedience without a direct violation of the principles of love mercy and justice given by the Saviour to His disciples; and that those professed ministers of the Redeemer who teach obedience to this law, are false teachers and unfaithful to the high and holy profession they have assumed.

7. Resolved, That the attempt of the Slave-power to enforce an alleged Constitutional provision with regard to fugitive slaves, while it sets at naught an undisputed Constitutional provision with reference to colored seamen is an apt illustration of the mode in which the South understands and fulfils the 'Compromises' of the Constitution, and the number in which, aided and abetted by Northern allies, it has governed the country for the last half century.

8. Resolved, That the audacious attempt made to convert the Free States into a great hunting ground for fugitive slaves has inspired an unutterable disgust toward the accursed system of which it is an off-shot, and awakened a deep sympathy for the bondman that will, we believe, ensure a repeal of the Bill, the political death of its framers and abettors, and a vast increase of the Anti-Slavery sentiment of the nation.

9. Resolved, That notwithstanding the temporary triumph of the slave-power in consequence of the treachery or apostacy of Northern Politicians, Merchants who sell their principles *with* their goods, and pro-slavery Preachers, the People of the Free States have, it is hoped, ceased to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to the oligarchy of the South, or their allies, the dough-faces of the North.

10. Resolved, That we exult in the election of the Hon. Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, to the office of U. S. Senator, as the triumph of a glorious cause, achieved in the person of one who will not, it is believed, barter his fair fame for gold or office, or ever prove treacherous to the principles of Liberty, the cause of the slave or the true interests of the country.

11. Resolved, That we are the friends of the Union and the Constitution, and will labor to have them sustained according to the well-known intentions of the Patriots of the Revolution, but that we do not desire their continuance, if perverted to the destruction of Freedom and Religion.

12. Resolved, That we are the friends of a true Republican Government, of a free Christianity, and of the Equal Rights of men in opposition to Cotton Whiggery, Cotton Democracy and Cotton Theology, and that we welcome to our ranks men of every sect and party who are in favor of a righteous civil government, the abolition of Caste, the downfall of Oppression and the supremacy of the Divine Law.

13. Resolved, That we will not bestow our suffrages on any candidate for office, who, we have reason to believe would, if elected, exert his influence to maintain and enforce the Fugitive Slave Bill, oppress the People of Color, or refuse at any time to cast his vote *for* Freedom and *against* Slavery.

14. Resolved, That the thanks of the community are due to the liberty-loving members of Congress and State Legislatures, ministers of the gospel, and conductors of the press who have advocated the cause of Human Rights, proclaimed the law of the living God, and been true to the instincts of Humanity, in spite of the combined influence of Wealth and Power, and the opposition of pro-slavery men in Church and State.

15. Resolved, That we sympathize with the oppressed of every clime, and especially with those of our own country, and promise them our succor in all times of their distress, according to the Golden Rule.

16. Resolved, That the agitation of the Slavery Question has not ceased nor will in our opinion cease, until the great stain upon the National escutcheon is removed, and the Higher Law has the ascendancy in the councils of the nation.

17. Resolved, That we rejoice in the formation of Anti-Slavery Societies of similar principles, and wish God speed to every effort to diffuse information, succor the distressed, bring about the emancipation of the enslaved, and the removal of prejudice against the free People of Color, in a way consonant with Truth, Justice and Christianity.

18. Resolved, That we tender our thanks to the free and hospitable inhabitants of Canada for the succor and relief they have so generously bestowed upon our countrymen who have fled from oppression, sought an asylum among them, and placed themselves under the protection of British law and philanthropy.

19. Resolved, That we renewedly and fervently commend the great cause of Human Freedom to the care and protection of Almighty God, beseeching Him to inspire all who labor for emancipation with wisdom from on high, to grant them a spirit of prayer, an exhibition of meekness, fidelity, perseverance and confidence in his promise that the rod of the oppressor shall be broken and the oppressed go free.

Letter from Senator Sumner.—The friends of Mr. Sumner, great as their confidence deservedly is in the Senator elect from Massachusetts, cannot but feel their faith in him more perfectly confirmed on reading such a letter as this which follows, written a few weeks after his nomination, and some time before its success:

Boston, Saturday, Feb. 22d, 1851.

My Dear Sir:—I desire to repeat to you in writing what I have so constantly said to you and others by word of mouth.

Early in life I formed a determination never to hold any political office, and, of course, never to be a candidate for any. My hope was (might I so aspire!) to show that, without its titles and emoluments, something might be done for the good of my fellow-men.

Notwithstanding the strength of this determination, often declared, I have, by the confidence of the friends of freedom in Boston, more than once been pressed into the position of candidate; and now, by the nomination of the Free Soil and Democratic members of the Legislature of Massachusetts, contrary to my desires specially made known to all who communicated with me on the subject, I have been brought forward as their candidate for the Senate of the United States.

Pardon me if I say, that personal regrets mingle with my gratitude for the honor that has been done me. The office of Senator, though elevated and important, is to me less attractive than other and more quiet fields of labor.

Besides, there are members of our party, valued associates in our severe struggle, to whom I gladly defer, as representatives of the principles which we all have at heart.

I trust, therefore, that the friends of freedom in the Legislature will not hesitate on any ground of delicacy toward me, to transfer their support to some other candidate, faithful to our cause. In this matter, I pray you, do not think of me. I have no political prospects which I desire to nurse. There is nothing in the political field which I covet. Abandon me, then, whenever you think best, without notice or apology. The cause is everything; I am nothing.

I rely upon you, in some proper way to communicate this note to the Free Soil members of the Legislature.

Believe me, my dear sir, very respectfully yours,
Charles Sumner.

Hon. Henry Wilson, Chairman of the Committee of the Free Soil members of the Legislature.

☞ Another of the intelligent correspondents of the *Journal of Commerce* has made a discovery which goes still further to excite our admiration of the acute moral insincts of that paper and its readers. We will not attempt to state it in our own language, but will give it entire in that of the astute correspondent, hoping thereby to aid to the extent of our limited circulation, in producing the thrill of horror which must run through the republican bosom on the announcement that such atrocity exists anywhere. The "trifling sum" named, for which so much misery is produced, will undoubtedly cause a sensation. If it had been $500 or $600 a parallel might have been found. This writer says:

> How would the travelers on board the floating palaces plying between Aden and Suez be astonished to know that nearly all the native crafts which are daily crossing their path, are loaded with slaves as part of their cargo. Alas, not with men and women destined to cultivate the soil, but with children from 10 to 15 years of age, destined to satisfy the lusts of the worthy descendants of Edom. As many as 6000 children are exported annually from the ports of Berbera, Zeyla, Tudjurrah, Massawah and Suakin, to the Arabian ports of Djedda, Hodeida, Mokka, and Birr Ahmet, seven miles only from Aden. Those children belong mostly to the handsome and highly interesting Galla nation, which is relentlessly persecuted by the Abyssinians for the sake of this dreadful traffic. About one-fifth of the children die in the travel to the sea coast, where they are sold for $25 to $50 a head. How much misery for such a trifling sum! The political agent in Aden knows the fact, but he winks at it, for fear to raise the wrath of the neighborhood, on which the garrison depends for the supply of cattle and vegetables. Quite a different matter it was with Seid Said, the Imaum of Muscat, who was obliged lately, in the name of humanity, by the generous Britons, to interdict slavedealing to his subjects. This was a stunner intended for Zanzibar, where sugar and spices were raised by slave labor, much cheaper than in Mauritius, Ceylon, and on the Malabar coast. This is now at an end, and the planters in Zanzibar are to-day as badly off as their rivals.
>
> E. W.

A Palpabe Hit.—The *Charleston Mercury*, speaking of the election of Charles Sumner to the U. States Senate, says it is evident that the people of Massachusetts are, with few exceptions, abolitionists, and that the triumph of law in Sims' case has merely preceded the triumph of Sumner. Though rather more than justice is done to the people of Massachusetts as a whole, yet the *Mercury* is quite right in believing that the immediate result of the return of Sims was the sending South of another personage not provided for in the Compromises.

Colored Delegates to Europe.—The colored people of Alleghany County, Pa., have appointed Robert Purvis, of Byberry, Pa., and Charles Lenox Remond, of Salem, Mass., as delegates to England, to lay before the Assembly of all Nations, now in session in London, the condition of three and a half millions of the people of this Republic, and to ask of them an expression of opinion on the wrongs to which Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Slavecatching, subject them. No better representatives of the colored people of this country could have been chosen than these gentlemen, and none better able to present the subject in its true light.

Communications.

THE PECULIAR INSTITUTION.

New York, May 5th, 1851.

Mr. Gay—Dear Sir: In order to convince yourself and friends of the necessity of using all human means, to either have the condition of the poor slave ameliorated or Slavery abolished altogether from the land, I beg leave to narrate a few little incidents which occurred during my journey through the Southern States a short time since. This is but a tithe of the horrible cruelties inflicted on our poor colored brethren, and at which my heart sickens at the thought. To the truth of what I am about to relate, I pledge my most sacred honor, and were I not engaged in mercantile business wherein my interest and perhaps my life would be forfeited, I would have no objection to become an evidence to the facts which I will now relate.

A man by the name of B——dw——n in Stewart County, Georgia, had two fine young negro men (brothers) for whom he was offered $1000 and $1200; for some cause or other he had entertained a dislike to them and was constantly punishing them for the most trivial offence. The day before they ran away he had them laid on the ground and successively paddled them from the neck to the heels; he then, with the flat part of a handsaw, broke all the blisters caused by the holes which had been bored in the paddle. He then bathed their backs in a solution of red pepper and salt brine. Such were the torments inflicted upon these poor suffering sons of humanity, that they determined upon absconding. On the following day they were not at their work, the day following they were absent. Mr. B. then, fearing they had made their way northward, got 15 Valiant Sons of Southern Chivalry, all armed to the teeth, and with a pack of hounds, went in pursuit; after a long search they came up with them on the Flint River. When they heard the dogs baying, (that is, the moment the dogs come close upon their prey, they utter a most hideous and mournful howl) the negroes plunged into the river; in went the hounds after them, some at one negro and some at the other; they bit them on the necks, arms, backs, and tried to pull them under the water; the poor creatures fought as long as they could, but of course got paralysed, and not being able to swim and contend with the dogs at the same time, they appeared to resign themselves to their fate; a few gurgling sounds ascended to heaven, and their spirits had fled to "that bourne from whence no traveller returns."

Another man by the name of M——rr had a negro woman who was in the habit of smoking a pipe in the field; the overseer cautioned her several times not to do so—however, one day she clandestinely carried some fire to the field, and was lighting her pipe. All of a sudden the overseer made his appearance. He said, "I thought I told you the next time I saw you smoke I would blow your brains out." He immediately shot her dead.

Another man by the name of G——lm——re had a negro run away—and the morning he was brought home he had a dog die of the 'distemper;' he called the 'Cook' and desired her to cut off the hind leg, skin, hair, and all, and slice it up; this he had fried in fat and made the negro eat it. The cruel enormities practised upon the poor colored man are but seldom known beyond the plantation, where the crimes are committed. There is a censorship on the Southern press. No Editor can publish any of the flagitious acts of the slaveholder; if he did his life would pay the forfeit ere the sun set. If you would desire to have a condensed account, from time to time, of the horrible cruelties I speak of, I will not fail to give them soon.

Of this you may rest assured, that their will be "Nothing extenuate nor aught set down in malice," but only that which I have heard with my ears and seen with my—

Eyes.

Foreign Correspondence.

LETTER FROM WILLIAM P. POWELL.

Liverpool, March 23d, 1851.

Friend Gay:—In *The Sunday Despatch* of —— date is an article headed "An Abolition delegate on his Travels," and animadverting upon a letter of mine published in your paper. Now, in answer to this, I deny being "An Abolition Delegate," or agent for any Institution of whatever name. I was in hopes when I embarked from New York for England that *I* should, at least, be permitted to travel through that country unmolested, unassailed by any of the public journals; but, as the saying is, that the man the dogs won't bark at when walking the streets is not worth noticing, I certainly feel greatly obliged to that paper for being the first to *growl*. It is very fortunate that the dog law is not now in force, or else this snarling, rabid cur, who is only hired to bite once a week, (and that at small pay,) would either have to be muzzled, or dealt with according to law, in such cases made and provided.

But seriously speaking, it is high time for colored men to speak out, and not to be intimidated either by a licentious venal press, a Jesuitical, wine-bibbing priesthood, and the Northern cringing lickspittles, who all apologise, sanctify, make holy and constitutional when heated with wine and strong drink (witness the great Union celebration of Washington's birth day, February 22d,) the accursed Institution of human Slavery, "the chief corner-stone of American Republicanism." There is one thing remarkable in all that is said by apologists in extenuation for the necessary existence of this divine Institution, that the more they stir up the disgusting evil, the more it becomes obnoxious; and instead of soothing the consciences of slaveholders by their frivolous excuses, they only make his condition worse than bad. The following extract from the article in question, is, in my humble opinion, a palpable hit at the slave-owning amalgamationists. It will never suit the market for foreign consumption, for the very reason that it is needed for *home* consumption; but hear him:—"Show them (meaning the people of England) a Congo wench, with a face like a bull dog, and they will bow in homage to her charms, like a Hindostanee to his less disgusting idol." Well, if the editor of *The Sunday Dispatch* means to compare the amiable, heroic *Ellen Craft* to a "Congo wench, with a face like a bull-dog," he is certainly a very good judge of dog-flesh, "and we have a few more of the sort left." I wonder if he ever had charge of a Southern bull-dog kennel? for he writes like one having authority, and knoweth whereof he affirms. The editor of *The Dispatch* has won the *collar* of distinction, and he ought to have it with a proper motto. Again, I should like to ask this "lilly-livered defender of skim-milk democracy, whether, in said letter (which he so meanly withheld from his patrons) I told an *untruth*. Does not Negro Slavery exist in the United States—"the vilest that ever saw the sun"? and is it not upheld, defended, and practised by both Church and State, priest and people—extended over new territory, and increased from 1776 till now from 300,000 to over 3,000,000 slaves? Does not this system of iniquity brand every free man, woman and child having a colored skin the hated object of its wrath? Has not Congress enacted a *law*, approved of by a degenerate son of New York (President Fillmore) subjecting every free colored person, and in many cases white persons, to its odious and hell-concocted provisions? And yet when the whole civilized world, together with *Pagan China*, gives us their sympathy and protection, and extends to the panting fugitive slave (just escaped from American Christianity) the right hand of human brotherhood, this cowardly recreant to the cause of *Liberty* and *Truth* (has he forgotten his sympathy and welcome to the Italian, Hungarian, and Irish fugitives from European despotism?) sneaks behind every miserable subterfuge in order to screen this guilty *slaveholding*, psuedo-Christian nation from the gaze of the whole world.

Again, let me tell the *Dispatch* that it is not necessary for me to visit "the cotton factories of Manchester and Salford, the nail factories of Preston, and, above all, the coal pits in the north of England, etc etc." in order to make a just comparison between the two systems of free and slave labor, for they are, in effect, as far apart as the Poles. The operatives of these factories and mines are protected in their property and their persons by law; and the scale of prices for labor performed, especially for the younger branches, and the number of hours to be employed, are regulated by Parliamentary enactments; and they realize from three shillings sterling to two pounds per week for their labor; and, what is more, they are not chattels personal, subject to corporeal punishment, whips and chains, and separated, parents from their children, and husbands from their wives. But not so "with the sleek, oily appearance of the (Editor's) comfortably clothed, well fed, fat and saucy southern slaves" Are there any laws regulating the price of slave labor, forbidding corporeal punishment for non-performance of task? Are there laws punishing with death the master, overseer, or driver, for *murder*, *rape* and *violence* committed daily upon the defenceless slaves? And yet the American negro slaves are better off than the operatives in the cotton factories and coal mines of England? I am of the opinion, if the Editor of the *Dispatch* was to visit the above named places, and be introduced to the operatives as the author of the libelous article in question, that he would meet with as warm a reception as General Haynau met with from the hands of the workmen at Barclay & Perkins' brewery.

William P. Powell.

Miscellaneous News.

——A slave was stabbed and killed at Rosemary Lawn, Charles county, Md., on Tuesday of last week, by an overseer named Richard Garner.

——Emancipation in Kentucky.—The *Paris* (Ky) *Citizen* says that thirty two slaves have been emancipated in Bourbon county from June, 1850, to March, 1851.

——A convention of colored people was held at Cambridge, Maryland, on the 20th of April, at which it was resolved to send a deputation of two persons to Liberia, to examine and report upon the actual condition of things there, to enable the members of the convention, and other free persons of color in Maryland, to decide upon the propriety of removing to that republic.

——Charles Sumner.—The election of Mr. Sumner seems to gratify all parties in Massachusetts. The Springfield *Republican and Gazette* records the following:

"The New-England Methodist Convention in session at Newburyport when Mr. Sumner was elected U. S. Senator, were treated to a special announcement of his election by a member of the body, when the whole Convention responded '*Amen!*'"

——Twenty five Dollars for a Scalp.—Mr. H. N. Folsom, of Doakville, advertises in the *Fort Smith Herald*, a reward of two hundred dollars for the recovery of a slave, and says, "If he cannot be taken alive, he will pay a reward of *twenty-five dollars for his scalp*"

Wouldn't the U. S. Government do well to pay for *scalps* and send out its hunters to tomahawk as well as catch slaves? It might help save the Union.—[Mil. Dem.

——The Slave Sims.—Deputy Marshal Russell, one of the officers who accompanied Sims to Savannah, informs the *New Bedford Mercury* that he left Sims in jail; that Potter, the master, intended to leave him there for "meditation upon his conduct" for a few days and then sell him for what he would bring. Potter said he would not sell Sims for any money to go to Massachusetts, but that he had no doubt that he would be back there in six months. Russell says it is not true that Sims had been flogged.

——Conflict with Runaway Slaves.—*Baltimore* April 28, 1851, We have by the Southern mail to-night papers from New Orleans to the 22d instant, and dates from Galveston to the 18th. The Galveston Civilian states that McCullogh's company of Mounted Rangers overtook, on the 19th inst., a gang of runaway negroes near the river Nueces, on their way to Mexico. The negroes were challenged by the Rangers to surrender, but refused, and in return opened a fire upon the Rangers, killing two and wounding a third very badly. A general engagement then ensued, in which all the negroes were killed. Their number is not mentioned.

——Agitation in the Church.—Mr. Giddings stated in his speech on Tuesday last, that the Presbytery which recently assembled at Jefferson, and of which he is a member, had resolved to make one more effort to purify the New School Presbyterian Church, and if not successful, to secede. In pursuance of this purpose they had chosen him [Mr. G] to represent them in the next General Assembly. We guess Dr. Cox will find it a hard job to 'cap the volcano' this time.—*Bugle.*

——Rev Thomas K. Beecher.—The *Baltimore Patriot* of Wednesday publishes the following letter;

The notice taken by the "Patriot" of the recent action of a church and society in Baltimore, by which a unanimous pastorial call was almost unanimously withdrawn is accurate, so far as it goes. It is inaccurate, however, in the impression it produces upon the uninformed reader.

The article alluded to *implies* that the church after some difficulty or skilful probing, ascertained my views upon the subject of Slavery to be inadmissably dangerous; as though the Christian church had by extra caution just saved themselves from entertaining an abolitionist unawares.

The following are facts which any member of the church in question will cheerfully corroborate. I preached nine sermons in Baltimore in eight of which I openly declared my hostility to Slavery. I conversed freely with my friends, slaveholders and others, and even made an extra show of my Anti-Slavery sentiments in order to convince them that a pastorial alliance between us could hardly be desired, least of all expected I received a unanimous, unconditional call to the vacant pastorate in full view of these facts. Since then, the issue of Slavery and Anti-Slavery has never been debated in our official correspondence at all.

The correspondence was begun by myself contrary to the wishes of the church; it has hinged entirely upon the question not of Slavery, but of a free pulpit, freedom of speech universally. An assurance was asked, and I declined giving any, in relation to what I would preach, as well as to what I would not. I declined giving any pledge or assurance because I esteem ministerial servitude—an inslaved pulpit—an evil fully as great as American Slavery, with all its confessed horrors. The former fetters and scars and dwarfs the soul of both pastor and people—the latter can do no more.

Now that the assurance cannot enslave me, I make it public in the very words which I often used *confidentially* to friends North and South. "I neither desire nor intend to discuss the subject of Slavery from any pulpit in Baltimore." * * * "I will, however, assert here and always my right to discuss it." * * * "A church may elect and may dismiss their pastor at their good pleasure—they may not put him under bonds to keep the peace."

I exult in the manful honesty with which this Church has taken her ground. Though we differ and can never be united as pastor and people, yet I know that we have parted company with mutual sorrow, respect and affection each honoring the other for the plain truth that has marked our brief intercourse. Thos. K. Beecher.

——The Owners of the Acorn.—The following is a list of the owners of a Massachusetts vessel which has been put to a purpose that would have made it a pirate on the Coast of Africa. We suppose the Federal Government chartered the Acorn to convey the kidnapped Sims to Georgia, but we take it that Government cannot rightfully do what it would hang an individual for doing in a different latitude and longitude. We hold that the Acorn is historically and before the world a piratical brig, and her responsible owners must be put on record. Here is the list which is furnished us; if it is in any particular erroneous, we shall be happy to correct it.

Richard House,	Boston.
Rider & Co.,	"
John D. Crowell,	"
Cornelius Lovell,	"
Alvin Crosby,	Barnstable.

—*Commonwealth.*

——Free Negroes.—The Legislature of Delaware has passed a law to prevent free negroes from coming into that State hereaftar, to reside, under a penalty of $50. The offender, in case he be unable to pay the fine is to be sold beyond the limits of the State for a sufficient sum to pay the fine and all costs. The law is not to affect seafaring men, servants, or persons entering the State temporarily for the purpose of trade. Any captain of a vessel taking a free negro into the State to attend a camp or other meeting, is subject, under this law, to a fine of $200.

——The Savannah Papers are adorned with the following card. We copy it as a historical document, and call particular attention to the signatures.

A CARD.

The following resolutions, complimentary to Capt. Henry C. Combs and his Officers, of the brig Acorn, on their late passage from Boston to Savannah, were passed by the U. S. Officers having in charge Thomas Sims, the fugitive sent from Boston, by order of Geo. T. Curtis, U. S. Commissioner, Circuit Court of United States.

At sea, 12 o'clock, Friday, April 18th, 1851, }
Off Tybee Light, }

1st. *Resolved*, That we the undersigned U. S. Officers on board the brig Acorn, from Boston to Savannah, in charge of the fugitive Sims, sent from Boston to Savannah, there to be delivered up to his owner or agent, by order of the United States Commissioner of the Circuit Court for the District of Massachusetts, feel in duty bound to tender our sincere thanks to Capt. Henry C. Combs, master of the brig Acorn, for his kind and gentlemanly treatment to us during our passage from Boston to Savannah—*believing that he has done all in his power in behalf of the cause*, and to make our passage as pleasant and agreeable as possible—having full confidence in him as a gentleman and navigator, worthy to be named with the first class of the sons of the ocean, and that he has our best wishes for his future welfare, wherever he may be or whatever circumstances he may be placed in.

2d. *Resolved*, That the rest of the officers, particularly *Cephas Ames*, first mate on boad the brig Acorn, have our thanks and best wishes for their kind and gentlemanly treatment towards us during our passage from Boston to Savannah. May they always do likewise, and go on their way through *this* world with success attending them.

3d. *Resolved*, That in our humble opinions the brig Acorn is a good substantial vessel, swift sailor, safe, comfortable and sea worthy, and we cordially recommend her and her present officers to the business and travelling public.

George W. Warner, Passenger for Macon, Ga.

J. H. Riley,
Fred. D. Byrnes,
Chas. Sawin,
Wm. O. Russell, } U. S. Deputy Marshals.

Benjamin True,
Geo. J. Cooledge,
Simpson Clark,
Thos. Dolliver, } Assistants.

REFORM CONVENTION AT MILTON, ULSTER COUNTY.

☞ A Convention of the Friends of Reform will be held at Milton, Ulster County, New-York, on *Saturday and Sunday, 10th and 11th inst.*

Various questions of moral and religious Reform, and, prominent among them, that of Anti-Slavery, will engage the attention of the Convention.

Lucretia Mott, Thomas McClintock, Joseph Dugdale, and other distinguished speakers, are expected to be present.

An earnest invitation is extended to all persons interested, to attend this Convention.

SCITUATE, (Plymouth Co.)

Saturday Evening and Sunday, May 10 *and* 11.

☞ This meeting will be held in the Town Hall, and will be attended by C. C. Burleigh, Luby Stone, and others.

LUCY STONE,

An Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:

South Weymouth,	Thursday,	"	8.
"	Friday,	"	9.
Scituate,	Sunday,	"	11.
Halifax,	Tuesday,	"	13.
"	Wednesday,	"	14.
Plympton,	Friday,	"	16.

THE SLAVE 'PERRY'—HIS FREE PAPERS.

The slave known by the name of Perry Wilson, formerly owned by Georgiana Sleeper, of Baltimore, which place he left in 1847 or 1848, and when last heard from was at the Parker House, New Bedford, is informed that he can have his free papers by calling upon Ellis Gray Loring, 27 State street, or at G. W. Sleeper's 130 Washington street.

The press will confer a great favor on the said Perry by giving an insertion to the substance of the above.

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The work is being published in Semi-monthly Numbers, of 64 pages each, exclusive of the Steel engravings, and, when not taken in connection with the Reviews or Blackwood, is sold at 25 Cents each, or $5 for the entire work in numbers, of which there will be at least twenty-two:

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THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW (Free-Church),
THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW (Liberal), and
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Westminster Review (1 year).

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POETRY.

From The Liberty Bell.

Stanzas

TO ——, WITH A BRACELET COMPOSED OF CRYSTALS AND STONES FROM THE BERNESE ALPS.

BY CAROLINE WESTON.

No flashing gem, no jewel rare,
No treasure rich from earth or sea,
I send to deck thy braided hair
And tell my constant thought of thee.

I send an offering dearer far
Than rosary to devotee,
For every clasp and every stone
Has witnessed thought and prayer for thee.

Rude are its links, but fancy sees
The crystals bright from Alpine hill
Forced downward by the Glacier's might,
Or bedded in the mountain rill.

They come from where eternal snow
Shines on the Jungfrau's wintry height,
From where the Staubach's misty flow
Gleams in the Lutschine's vale of light.

And where that wondrous wealth of waves
Flows free in June's rejoicing hour,
They leaped perchance from mountain caves
In the wild cataract's misty shower.

We stood beneath the mountain height
From whose proud front the "dust-fall" sprung,
And stil l an ever fresh delight
Its rapture o'er my spirit flung.

The Alpine horn was ringing wild;
From cliff and cave the wave flashed free,
And gaily sang the mountain child—
We blessed them all and spoke of thee.

Of thee and home, and of an hour
When wandering wide by hill and wold
We talked of Cologne's shrine and tower,
Then of the "Alpine mountains cold."

Now thou wert far, and there by me
A stranger stood, whose voice could wake
In foreign accents thoughts of thee—
An Exile he for FREEDOM's sake.

By the cold spring we bowed to drink,
The cup was drained to Liberty;
How could I choose but sadly think
Of that far home beyond the sea,

Where vowed to Freedom's holy cause
We suffered with the suffering *Slave*,
Bound in a land whose very laws
Have power to crush and none to save.

Then died my spirit's glow away;
How long, oh Lord! I cried, how long
Shall earth's oppressors bear their sway,
And light be dark and right be wrong!

We turned us from the torrent's roar
To mark where by the way-side stood
A peasant home, above whose door
This legend ran in carving rude.

"With God this house was builded here,
In God my trust shall still be strong."
We knew its meaning bright and clear—
"Toil still and trust, nor ask how long."

Then wear the chain I send to-day,
Though rudely framed, it hath a tone
Caught from the Glacier, rock and spray,
Whose memory cling to every stone.

GRINDENWALD, Switzerland, June, 1849.

Thank God for Summer.

BY ELIZA COOK.

I loved the Winter once with all my soul,
And longed for snow-storms, hail, and mantled skies.
And sung their praises in as gay a troll,
As Troubadours have poured to Beauty's eyes.

I deemed the hard, black frost a pleasant thing,
For logs blazed high, and horses' hoofs rung out;
And wild birds came with tame and gentle wing
To eat the bread my young hands flung about.

But I have walked into the world since then,
And seen the bitter work that cold could do—
Where the grim Ice-King levels babes and men
With bloodless spear that pierced through and through.

I know now there are those who sink and lie
Upon a stone bed at the dead of night,
I know the roofless and unfed *must* die,
When even lips at Plenty's Feast turn white.

And now whene'er I hear the cuckoo's song
In budding woods I bless the joyous comer;
While my heart runs a cadence in a throng
Of hopeful notes, that say—"Thank God for Summer!"

I've learnt that sunshine bringeth more than flowers,
And fruits and forest leaves to cheer the earth;
For I have seen sad spirits, like dark bowers,
Light up beneath it with a grateful mirth.

The aged limbs that quiver in their tasks
Of dragging life on, when the north wind goads—
Taste once again contentment, as they bask
In the straight beams that warm their church-yard road.

And Childhood—poor, pinched Childhood—half forgets
The starving pittance of our cottage homes,
When he can leave the hearth, and chase the nets
Of gossamer that cross him as he roams.

The moping idiot seemeth less distraught
When he can sit upon the grass all day,
And laugh and clutch the blades, as though he thought
The yellow sun-rays challenged him to play.

Ah! dearly now I hail the nightingale,
And greet the bee—the merry-going hummer—
And when the lilies peep so sweet and pale,
I kiss their cheeks, and say—"Thank God for Summer!"

Feet that limp, blue and bleeding, as they go
For dainty cresses in December's dawn,
Can wade and dabble in the brooklet's flow,
And woo the gurgles on a July morn.

The tired pilgrim, who would shrink with dread
If Winter's drowsy torpor lulled his brain,
Is free to choose his mossy Summer bed,
And sleep his hour or two in some green lane.

Oh! Ice-toothed King, I loved you once—but now
I never see you come without a pang
Of hopeless pity shadowing my brow,
To think how naked flesh must feel your fang.

My eyes watch now to see the elms unfold,
And my ears listen to the callow rook,
I hunt the palm-trees for their first rich gold,
And pry for violets in the southern nook.

And when fair Flora sends the butterfly
Painted and spangled as her herald mummer;
"Now for warm holidays," my heart will cry,
"The poor will suffer less!...Thank God for Summer!"

Quench, righteous God, the thirst,
That Congo's sons hath curs'd—
The thirst for Gold!
Shall not thy thunders speak,
Where Mammon's altar's reek,
Where maids and matrons shriek,
Bound, bleeding, sold? PIERPONT.

MISCELLANY.

Dahomey and the Dahomans.*

DAHOMEY, as every one knows, is a negro kingdom, adjacent to Ashantee, extending from the coast of Guinea as far as the Kong Mountains. The existence of such a kingdom was not known in Europe till the beginning of last century; though some suppose that *Dauma*, which is mentioned by the early geographer Leo Africanus (died 1526) as one of many African kingdoms lying south of Nigritia, was a corruption of the word *Dahomey*. The native tradition, however, assigns both to the name and to the kingdom an origin not much older than two hundred years. The King, Ada Hoonzoo, who succeeded in 1774, was 'the Macadam of Africa;' for he 'made roads leading to his capital as broad as Pall Mall, and as suited to the traffic of the country as our roads are to that of England.' Another of the 'institutions' of Dahomey, which owes its origin to this monarch, is the far-famed army of Amazons—that is, negro women, who act as the king's body-guard, and take part with the male soldiers in all expeditions, rivalling them in courage and ferocity. Ada Hoonzoo's successor was Agon-groo, who was succeeded by his son Adanazah. Adanazah proving a coward, was, after a short time, deposed, and superseded by his younger brother Gezo, the present king.

The earliest account we have of the Dahomans and their customs is contained in a letter written in 1724 to the commandant of the English fort at Whydah, by a Mr. Bulfinch Lamb, an agent for the English African Company, who was seized by the Dahoman army during one of Guadjah Trudo's conquering expeditions to the coast, and carried away prisoner to Abomey, where he was detained for some time, but treated with great kindness. One or two subsequent accounts and sketches have been published by persons whom chance or business has led into that part of the world. On the whole, however, very little has hitherto been known of Dahomey; yet, as it is the chief site of the odious slave traffic, which, notwithstanding all the efforts of England and Europe, is still carried on between Africa and the Brazils, there is perhaps no country in Africa towards which it is more desirable that attention should be turned. Aware of this, the English government, in the autumn of 1849, appointed the enterprising African traveller, Mr. Duncan, to the post of her Majesty's vice-consul at Dahomey. The death of Da Souza, the king of Dahomey's principal slave-buyer, and a great promoter of the slave trade, having created a blank in the slave market, it was imagined that the king would be more favorably disposed than at any other time to listen to proposals for the abolition, or at least the modification, of this hereditary branch of the Dahoman commerce. To give greater weight to Mr. Duncan's mission, a naval officer was selected to accompany him; and the choice fell on Lieutenant Frederick E. Forbes, already known for his useful services in the African blockade. The naval commander-in-chief gave Lieutenant Forbes a letter to be delivered to the king of Dahomey.

On the 12th of October, 1849, Mr. Duncan and Lieutenant Forbes set out from Whydah, accompanied by a large retinue of black men and women, one or two of whom were to act as interpreters, and the rest were employed in carrying the baggage, and the load of presents, consisting of kegs of rum, pieces of cloth, and packages of cowrie-shells (the currency of Dahomey), which were to be distributed among the Dahoman king and his courtiers. Intelligence of the arrival of the mission had been previously sent to Abomey, and Gezo had forwarded the necessary passport through his dominions, in the shape of 'a gold-headed Malacca cane,' to Lieutenant Forbes. A journey of four days brought the party to Abomey, the first aspect of which is thus described:

'The city is about eight miles in circumference, surrounded by a ditch about five feet deep, filled with the prickly acacia—its only defence. It is entered by six gates, which are simply clay walls crossing the road, with two apertures—one reserved for the king, the other a thoroughfare for his subjects. In each aperture are two human skulls; and on the inside a pile of skulls, human, and of all the beasts of the field, even to the elephant's. Besides these six gates, the ditch, which is of an oval form, branches off at each side the north-west gate to the north and north-west; and over each branch is a similar gateway, for one only purpose—to mislead and enemy in a night attack. In the centre of the city are the palaces of Dongelah-cardeh and Agrim-gameh, adjoining; on the north stands the original palace of Dahomey; about these, and to the south gate, are houses, the most conspicuous of which are those of the ministers. In front of Agrim-gameh is an extensive square, in which are the barracks and a high shed or palaver-house, a saluting battery of fifteen guns, and a stagnant pond. Just inside the south-east gate (the Cannah) are a saluting battery and pond, and numerous blacksmith's shops. The roads or streets are in good order, and though there are not any shops, the want of them is supplied by two large markets—Ahjah-ee, to the eastward of the central palace, at once a market, parade and sacrificial ground; and Hung-jooloh, just outside the south gate. Besides these are several smaller markets, the stalls of which are all awned, and are generally attended by women, the wives of all classes and orders, from the miegans to the blacksmiths. The fetish houses are numerous, ridiculously ornamented. Cloths are manufactured within the palaces and houses. . . . Within the city are large waste lands, and many cultivated farms. There are no regular streets, and it is difficult for a European to imagine himself in the capital of a large country, as all the houses are surrounded by high red clay walls, which enclose large forest trees, besides orange, banana, and other fruit trees. All the houses are low and thatched, and one only in the palace of Dongelah-cardeh, and one in that of Cumassee, can boast of two storeys.'

After being visited by several of the Dahoman chiefs, the embassy was admitted to an interview with the king:

'The square of the palace was filled with armed people, squatted on their hams, the polished barrels of their Danish muskets standing up like a forest. Under a thatched gateway was the king, surrounded by his immediate wives; while on each side sat the Amazons, all in uniform, armed and accoutred; and in the centre of the square squatted the males. Hundreds of banners and umbrellas enlivened the scene, and a constant firing from great guns and small arms increased the excitement. When near the king's seat we came to a halt, while the caboceers bowed down and kissed the dust. Passing before the throne we bowed, and made the circuit of the square three times—the caboceers prostrating, and ourselves repeating our obeisances each time that we passed the royal seat. On the third time, the ministers and caboceers formed a line to the king's position: and as we stepped from our hammocks, the king, who had been reclining, rose, and forty discordant bands struck up a quick step, whilst guns were fired, and all shouted except the ministers and caboceers, who prostrated themselves, and threw dirt on their heads as we advanced and shook hands with the king. His Dahoman majesty, King Gezo, is about forty-eight years of age, good-looking, with nothing of the negro features, his complexion wanting several shades of being black; his appearance commanding, and his countenance intellectual, though stern in the extreme. That he is proud there can be no doubt, for he treads the earth as if it were honored by its burthen. Were it not for a slight cast in his eye, he would be a handsome man. Contrasted with the gaudy attire of his ministers, wives, and caboceers (of every hue, and laden with coral, gold, silver, and brass ornaments), the king was plainly dressed in a loose robe of yellow silk, slashed with satin stars and half-moons, Mandigo sandals, and a Spanish hat trimmed with gold lace; the only ornament being a small gold chain of European manufacture. Taking our seats on chairs facing the royal mat, we entered into a complimentary conversation; the king asking many questions about our sovereign and England, and afterwards of Messrs. Freeman, Cruikshanks, and Wynniett, who had preceded us at his court. The ministers were then introduced by name, and we all drank together.'

Two days spent in feasting, giving and receiving presents, and seeing the sights of Abomey, such as the review of the Amazons, &c., and the mission came to business:

After many compliments, his majesty requested me to read the commander-in-chief's letter. Handing it to him, he broke the seal, and returned it. I then read its contents piecemeal, so that the interpreters might the better explain it. His majesty listened attentively; and then explained that he was not accompanied by those officers who should form members of so serious a palaver, but if I would attend his Customs, he would give an answer. He then dictated a letter to the commander-in-chief, in which he promised to give me an answer at the Customs.'

The 'Customs' here alluded to are certain periodical festivals held at Abomey, when, amid drinking, rejoicing, the offering of human sacrifices, and much military parade, all the more important business of Dahomey (such as the paying of the troops, the trial of offences, and the determination of the scene of the great slave hunt of the following year, &c. &c.) is transacted. The king of Dahomey is absolute, and can strike off the heads of his subjects when he pleases; still, even in Dahomey, there cannot be entire absolutism, and the Customs are, as it were, the meeting of the Dahoman parliament, when the king hears the grumblings as well as the adulations of his subjects. As the Customs were not to be held till the months of May, June, and July, and as, by Gezo's dexterous procrastination of the subject of the mission till then, no farther conversation with him upon it could be immediately obtained, Messrs. Duncan and Forbes set out on their return to Whydah. Mr. Duncan fell severely ill on the way, and died almost immediately after having embarked on board the *Kingfisher* on his voyage home.

Lieutenant Forbes, according to promise, returned to Abomey in May 1850, accompanied by Mr. Beecroft, Her Majesty's consul at the Bights; and staying there for about six weeks, witnessed the following customs: 1*st*, The *Fe-que-ah-eh-bek*, or 'Paying of the Troubadours;' 3*d*, The *Ek-bah-tong-ek-beh*, or 'Display of the King's Wealth;' 3*d*, The *Ek-que-noo-ah-toh-meh*, or 'Throwing of the Presents'—an essential portion of which custom consists of human sacrifices, though these are frequent on other occasions; 4*th*, The *Ek-beh-soh-ek-beh*, or 'Firing of the Guns;' 5*th*, The 'King's Court of Justice,' or parliament, which lasted several days, and in which various charges were made, and various questions entertained, amid much noise and confusion: 6*th*, The 'Amazon's Oath of Fidelity;' 7*th*, A 'Sham Fight;' 8*th*, The *See-que-ah-hee*, or 'Watering of the Ancestral Grave.' Mr. Forbes gives detailed accounts of these ceremonies, which were a curious combination of the comic, the gaudy, the fierce, and the disgusting.

The Custom of the *Ek-que-noo-ah-toh-teh*, or 'Throwing of the Presents,' took place on the last day of May, and consisted in the king's throwing—for seven hours continuously, from a raised platform in the market-place—cowry-shells, pieces of cloth, kegs of rum, rolls of tobacco, &c. into the midst of a vast multitude of naked blacks, who scrambled for the prizes. As neither the Dahoman army nor any of the Dahoman officials have any regular pay (though many perquisites), this distribution of the royal bounty is, in fact, the annual payment of the nation's salaries. At the close, however, of the distribution comes a horrid gift from the monarch to his subjects—that of a number of captives of the last slave-hunt, who, after being exhibited all day, tied in shallow baskets or cradles posted round the parapet of the platform, are thrown down, head foremost, among the yelling thousands beneath, there to be despatched with clubs, and torn in pieces. Fourteen such victims had been prepared on the present occasion; and after the rest of the ceremonial was over, the king asked Messrs. Forbes and Beecroft to stay to witness their execution. They very properly refused; and after succeeding in buying off three of the poor wretches, hurried from the platform. The remaining eleven victims were then thrown down, three by Gezo, the others by his ministers. The whole expense to the king of the day's ceremonial did not exceed 2,000 dollars.

At the 'palaver,' or parliament proper, the chief subjects of debate were the conduct of certain individuals during the slave-hunt of the preceding year, and the direction in which the expedition of the next year should be led. There was a great deal of quarrelling and mutual abuse among the Amazons and male soldiers. The following extract, containing the closing speeches of an Amazon and the king, will give an idea of Dahoman parliamentary eloquence:

'Again all rise, whilst an Amazon chief makes the following speech: "As the blacksmith takes an iron bar, and by fire changes its fashion, so have we changed our nature. We are no longer women; we are men. By fire we will change Abeahkeutah. The king gives us cloth, but without thread it cannot be fashioned: we are the thread. If corn is put in the sun to dry, and not looked after, will not the goats eat it? If Abeahkeutah be left too long, some other nation will spoil it. A cask of rum cannot roll itself. A table in a house becomes useful when anything is placed thereon. The Dahoman army, without the Amazons, are as both unassisted. Spitting makes the belly more comfortable, and the outstretched hand will be the receiving one: so we ask you for war, that our bellies may have their desire, and our hands be filled." At the conclusion of this harangue, the female court again rose, and, heading the Amazons, saluted the king; all sang in chorus—"May thunder and lightning kill us if we break our oaths!" The king now left the tent amid cries of *Koh-pah-sa-kree* (a peculiarly fierce eagle), whilst all fell prostrate. The king received a handsome ebony club, and danced with it. Then the Amazons rose, and the king thus addressed them: "The hunter buys a dog, and having trained him, he takes him out a hunting, without telling him the game he expects to meet. When in the bush he sees a beast, and by his teaching the dog pursues it. If the dog returns without the game, the huntsman, in his anger, kills him, and leaves his carcass a prey to the wolves and vultures. If I order you to clear the bush, and you do not do it, will I not punish you? If I tell my people to put their hands in the fire, they must do it. When you go to war, if you are taken prisoners, you will be sacrificed, and your bodies become food for wolves and vultures." Having concluded his oration, the king again danced and drank, then handed round rum in a large pewter basin to the Amazon officers. On his return to his tent, all the Amazons—in number about 2,400—marched off, and thus ended the parade.'

It was understood, as agreed upon, that the scene of the next slave-hunt would be the city and neighborhood of Abeahkeutah, a flourishing negro community in the Bight of Benin, containing many hundreds of Christians.

At the end of the Customs, Gezo, to whom Lieutenant Forbes had delivered a letter from the queen of England, became more explicit on the subject of the slave trade. 'He now wished to know the ulterior object of the embassy. In the first place, we answered, we hoped he would put a stop to the slave trade in his vast dominions; and in order to do that, we impressed upon him the methods pursued by neighboring nations, who, by encouraging the growth of the palm-tree, had so well met the market as now to have a far more advanced and lucrative trade than the Portuguese and Brazilians offered to Dahomey. That the first step to the establishment of the palm-oil trade must be the encouragement of labor within his dominions; and instead of devastating his neighbors' territories (particularly those whose geographical position placed Dahomey between them and the sea), he should, if war were unavoidable, reduce them, binding them by treaties to join in the pursuit of agriculture and trade, and then, by levying transit duties on their goods, cause them to enrich him far more than the mere sale of the slaves of the exterminating hunt. Thus by making Dahomey the centre of a vast trading country, all kinds of goods would soon find their way into his kingdom; and instead of being dependent on a few merchants for the paltry articles with which they chose to supply him, he might demand the choicest merchandise of the world—a boon already obtained by many neighbors. By thus turning a military into an agricultural people, and raising himself into the enviable position of a reformer of the iniquitous and fearful habits of his people, in the course of time he could abolish those fearful human sacrifices he had already reduced in numbers, and then his memory would be revered by all nations, and be handed down in love and peace instead of slaughter.

'The king gave a history of trade, from its earliest commencement in Whydah and Dahomey, down to the present date. First, he said, the French came to Whydah before Dahomey conquered it. War put a stop to trade for many years. The white man left Whydah in Ah-dah-hoon-zar's time: the English traders were the first who landed there and bought slaves. His father had impressed him with the belief that the English were the first of white men: he thought so, and desired much to be at peace with them. "Time had passed," he continued, "but the Dahomans had never given up slave-dealing. His people were soldiers, his revenue the proceeds of the slave trade. Do we not observe the absence of agriculture? Other nations dealt in slaves, but not like me: they keep no Customs, make no general disbursement. The slave trade of these States must be stopped before I can treat." . . . .

'The king then dictated a letter to Her Majesty, stating his anxiety for peace with Great Britain; his willingness to enter into treaty when the trade was stopped in the neighboring petty chiefdoms; his wish for a British consul to be sent to his kingdom, for missionaries to visit Dahomey, and reside at Whydah; and that the military state of his subjects alone at present precluded his becoming the head of an agricultural people.'

Connected collaterally with the narrative of his mission, Lieutenant Forbes gives many interesting particulars relative to the negro races in general. Of these, perhaps the most curious refer to the discovery of a native African language, called the *Vahie*, constructed on phonetic principles, as a means of reducing the prevalent languages of that part of Africa to a written unity. The notice of it leads Lieutenant Forbes to speak of the prospects of negro education in general. He says: 'Education is a favorite pride of the African, and there are few in Sierra Leone, who have been brought there young, but can read and write. Men of eminence are now expounding the Gospel in their native languages, as ordained clergymen of the Episcopal Church, whose early sojourn and troubled life was passed in the lottery of foreign Slavery. . . . . Instances are constantly occurring illustrating the extraordinary capacity of the African mind. The Island of St. Thomas sends forth hundreds of black Roman Catholic priests to many parts of Africa; and these sable fathers assist materially towards the great object—the civilization of Africa. Acting, however, under the protection of the Portuguese government, the known connection of that people with the slave trade prevents the fathers from being often heard of out of the scene of their labors. The richest slave merchant resident in Whydah, Don Jose Almedia, is an ex-slave, sold from the very part of Popoe in which he now commands a monopoly. This remarkably clever, shrewd man was educated in the Brazils during the period of his slavery in that country. If from each great slave State a selection of youths were made, educated in professional rule as clergymen, doctors, agriculturists and artisans, these, returning to their countries, would soon assist civilization, and generate a contempt for sacrifice and Slavery. The extraordinary contempt an educated black has for his unpolished neighbor is inconceivable; and it is the pride of all to attend church meetings, to prove their education (not to mention a weaker pride of exhibiting their finery). These foibles worked upon, studied, and humored, might be rendered eminently serviceable. What the African particularly requires is example; for, be it good or bad, he will follow it if set by "the white man," by which he means men of any color, but educated.

As regards the immediate object of the abolition of the Dahoman slave trade, Lieutenant Forbes thinks it is to be accomplished by a judicious blending of coercion, commercial enterprise, and education. He is a friend to the continuance of the blockade, an opinion in which many will differ from him. But his revelations of the state of Dahomey—a land rich in native resources, yet not half peopled—a land, the most conspicuous household ornaments of which are human skulls, and whose soil drinks nightly the blood of human sacrifices—a land, the people of which are clever enough, yet the slaves of the most abominable habits and superstitions: these revelations can have but one effect on all right minds—that of increasing the conviction that, whatever are the true methods for abolishing the horrid slave traffic, whether force or sausion, the earth ought not to be at peace till the object *is* finally and for ever accomplished.—*Chambers' Edinburg Journal.*

MADAME DE GENLIS AND MADAME DE STAEL.

[This curious piece has recently appeared in the *Gazette de France*, and has excited much remark. It is given out to be the production of Charles X. when Monsieur, and was communicated to M. Neychens by the Marquis de la Roche Jaqueline.]

BEFORE the Revolution I was but very slightly acquainted with Mme de Genlis, her conduct during that disastrous period having not a little contributed to sink her in my estimation; and the publication of her novel, 'The Knights of the Swan' (the *first* edition), completed my dislike to a person who had so cruelly aspersed the character of the queen, my sister-in-law.

On my return to France, I received a letter full of the most passionate expressions of loyalty from beginning to end; the missive being signed Comtesse de Genlis: but imagining this could be but a *plaisanterie* of some intimate friend of my own, I paid no attention whatever to it. However, in two or three days it was followed by a second epistle, complaining of my silence, and appealing to the great sacrifices the writer had made in the interest of my cause, as giving her a *right* to my favorable attention.—Talleyrand being present, I asked him if he could explain this enigma.

'Nothing is easier,' replied he; 'Mme de Genlis is unique. She has lost her own memory, and fancies others have experienced a similar bereavement.'

'She speaks,' pursued I, 'of her virtues, her misfortunes, and Napoleon's persecutions.'

'Hem! In 1789 her husband was quite ruined, so the events of that period took nothing from *him*; and as to the tyranny of Bonaparte, it consisted, in the first place, of giving her a magnificent suite of apartments in the Arsenal; and in the second place, granting her six thousand francs a year, upon the sole condition of her keeping him every month *au courant* of the literature of the day.'

'What shocking ferocity!' replied I, laughing; 'a case of infamous despotism indeed. And this martyr to our cause asks to see me!'

'Yes; and pray let your royal highness grant her an audience, were it only for once: I assure you she is most amusing.'

I followed the advice of M. de Talleyrand, and accorded to the lady the permission she so pathetically demanded. The evening before she was present herself, however, came a third missive, recommending a certain Casimir, the *phenix* of the *epoque*, and several other persons besides; all, according to Mme de Genlis, particularly celebrated people; and the postcript to this effusion prepared me also beforehand for the request she intended to make, of being appointed governess to the children of my son the Duc de Berry, who was at that time not even married.

Just at this period it so happened that I was beseiged by more than a dozen persons of every rank in regard to Mme de Stael, formerly exiled by Bonaparte, and who had rushed to Paris without taking breath, fully persuaded every one there, and throughout all France was impatient to see her again. Mme de Stael had a double view in thus introducing herself to me; namely, to direct my proceedings entirely, and to obtain payment of the two millions francs deposited in the treasury by her father during his ministry. I confess I was not prepossessed in favor of Mme de Stael, for she also in 1789, had manifested so much hatred towards the Bourbons, that I thought all she could possibly look to from us, was the liberty of living in Paris unmolested: but I little knew her. She, on her side, imagined that we ought to be grateful to her for having quarrelled with Bonaparte—her own pride being, in fact, the sole cause of the rupture.

M. de Fonfanes, and M. de Chateaubriand were the first who mentioned her to me; and to the importance with which they treated the matter, I answered, laughing, 'So Mme la Barronne de Stael is then a supreme power?'

'Indeed she is, and it might have very unfavorable effects did your royal highness overlook her: for what she asserts, every one believes, and then—she had suffered *so* much!'

'Very likely; but what did she make my poor sister-in-law the queen suffer? Do you think I can forget the abominable things she said, the falsehoods she told? and was it not in consequence of them, and the public's belief of them, that she owed the possibility of the ambassadress of Sweden's being able to dare insult that unfortunate princess in her very palace?'

Mme de Stael's envoys, who manifested some confusion at the fidelity of my memory, implored me to forget the past, think only of the future, and remember that the genius of Mme de Stael, whose reputation was European, might be of the utmost advantage, or the reverse. Tired of disputing I yielded; consented to receive this *femme celebre*, as they all called her, and fixed for her reception the same day I had notified to Mme de Genlis.

My brother has said, 'Punctuality is the politeness of kings'—words as true and just as they are happily expressed; and the princes of my family have never been found wanting in good manners: so I was in my study waiting when Mme de Genlis was announced. I was astonished at the sight of a long, dry woman, with a swarthy complexion, dressed in a printed cotton gown, anything but clean, and a shawl covered with dust, her habit-shirt, her hair even, bearing marks of great negligence. I had read her works, and remembering all she said about neatness, and cleanliness, and proper attention to one's dress, I thought she added another to the many who fail to add example to their precepts. While making these reflections, Mme de Genlis was firing off a volley of curtsies; and upon finishing what she deemed the requisite number, she pulled out of a great huge bag four manuscripts of enormous dimensions.

'I bring' commenced the lady, to your royal highness what will amply repay any kindness you may shew to me—No. 1 is a plan of conduct and a project of a constitution; No. 2 contains a collection of speeches in answer to those likely to be addressed to Monsieur; No. 3 addresses and letters proper to send to foreign powers, the provinces, &c.; and in No. 4 Monsieur will find a plan of education, the only one proper to be pursued by royalty, in reading which, your royal highness will feel as convinced of the extent of my acquirements as of the purity of my loyalty.'

Many in my place might have been angry; but, on the contrary, I thanked her with an air of polite sincerity for the treasures she was so obliging as to confide to me, and then condoled with her upon the misfortunes she had endured under the tyranny of Bonaparte.

'Alas! Monsieur, this abominable despot dared to make a mere plaything of *me!* and yet I strove, by wise advice, to guide him right, and teach him to regulate his conduct properly: but he would not be led. I even offered to mediate between him and the pope, but he did not so much as answer me upon this subject; although (being a most profound theologian) I could have smoothed almost all difficulties when the Concordat was in question.'

This last piece of pretension was almost too much for my gravity. However, I applauded the zeal of this new mother of the church, and was going to put an end to the interview, when it came into my head to ask her if she was well acquainted with Mme de Stael.

'God forbid!' cried she, making a sign of the cross: 'I have no acquaintance with *such people*; and I but do my duty in warning those who have not perused the works of that lady, to bear in mind that they are written in the worst possible taste, and are also extremely immoral. Let your royal highness turn your thoughts from such books; you will find in *mine* all that is necessary to know. I suppose Monsieur has not yet seen *Little Necker!*

'Mme la Baronne de Stael Holstein has asked for an audience, and I even suspect she may be already arrived at the Tuileries.'

'Let your royal highness beware of this woman! See in her the implacable enemy of the Bourbons, and in me their most devoted slave!'

This new proof of the want of memory in Mme de Genlis amused me as much as the other absurdities she had favored me with; and I was in the act of making her the ordinary salutations of adieu, when I observed her blush purple, and her proud rival entered.

The two ladies exchanged a haughty bow, and the comedy, which had just finished with the departure of Mme de Genlis, recommenced under a different form when Mme de Stael appeared on the stage. The baronness was dressed, not certainly dirtily, like the countess, but quite as absurdly.—She wore a red satin gown, emboidered with flowers of gold and silk; a profusion of diamonds; rings enough to stock a pawnbroker's shop; and, I must add, that I never before saw so low a cut corsage display less inviting charms. Upon her head was a huge turban, constructed on the pattern of that worn by the Cumean sybil, which put a finishing stroke to a costume so little in harmony with her style of face. I scarcely understand how a woman of genius *can* have such a false, vulgar taste. Mme de Stael began by apologising for occupying a few moments which she doubted not I should have preferred giving to Mme de Genlis. 'She is one of the illustrations of the day,' observed she with a sneering smile—'a colossus of religious faith, and represents in her person, she fancies, all the literature of the age!—Ah, ah, Monsieur, in the hands of *such people* the world would soon retrograde; while it should on the contrary, be impelled forward, and your royal highness be the first to put yourself at the head of this great movement. To you should belong the glory of giving the impulse guided by *my experience*.'

'Come,' thought I, 'here is another going to plague me with plans of conduct, and constitutions, and reforms, which I am to persuade the king my brother to adopt. It seems to me an insanity in France this composing of new constitutions.' While I was making these reflections, madame had time to give utterance to a thousand fine phases, every one more sublime than the preceding. However, to put an end to them, I asked her if there was anything she wished to demand.

'Ah, dear! oh yes, prince!' replied the lady in an indifferent tone. 'A mere trifle—less than nothing—two millions, without counting the interest at five per cent.; but these are matters I leave entirely to my men of business, being for my own part much more absorbed in politics and the science of government.'

'Alas madame, the king has arrived in France with his mind made up upon most subjects, the fruit of twenty-five years' meditation; and I fear he is not likely to profit by your good intentions!'

'Then so much the worse for him and for France! All the world knows what it cost Bonaparte his refusing to follow my advice, and pay be my two millions. I have studied the Revolution profoundly, followed it through all its phases, and I flattter myself I am the only pilot who can hold with one hand the rudder of state if at least I have Benjamin for steersman.'

'Benjamin! Benjamin—who?' asked I in surprise.

'It would give me the deepest distress,' replied she, to think that the name of M. le Baron de Rebecque Benjamin de Constant has never reached the ears of your royal highness. One of his ancestors saved the life of Henri Quatre. Devoted to the descendants of this good king, he is ready to serve them; and among several *constitutions* he has in his portfolio, you will probably find one with annotations and reflections by myself, which will suit you. Adopt it, and choose Benjamin Constant to carry the idea out.'

It seemed like a thing resolved—an event decided upon—this proposal of inventing a constitution for us. I kept as long as I could upon the defensive; but Mme de Stael, carried away by her zeal and her enthusiasm, instead of speaking of what personally concerned herself, knocked me about with arguments and crushed me under threats and menaces; so, tired to death of entertaining, instead of a clever, humble woman, a roaring politician in petticoats, I finished the audience, leaving her as little satisfied as myself with the interview. Mme de Genlis was ten times less disagreeable, and twenty times more amusing.

That same evening I had M. le Prince de Talleyrand with me, and I was confounded by hearing him say, 'So your royal highness has made Mme de Stael completely quarrel with me now?'

'Me! I never so much as pronounced your name.'

'Notwithstanding that, she is convinced that I am the person who prevents your royal highness from employing her in your political relations, and that I am jealous of Benjamin Constant. She is resolved on revenge.'

'Ha, ha!—and what can she do?'

'A very great deal of mischief, Monseigneur.—She has numerous partisans; and if she declares herself Bonapartiste, we must look to ourselves.'

'That *would* be curious.'

'Oh, I shall take upon myself to prevent her going so far; but she will be Royalist no longer, and we shall suffer from that.'

At this time I had not the remotest idea what a mere man, still less a mere woman, could do in France but now I understand it perfectly, and if Mme de Stael was living—Heaven pardon me!—I would strike up a flirtation with her.—*Chambers' Edingburg Journal.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

——KNOW THYSELF.—As regards decoration, I want you only to consult your own natural choice and liking. There is a right and wrong in it; but you will assuredly like the right if you suffer your natural instincts to lead you. Half the evil in this world comes from people not knowing what they do like, not deliberately setting themselves to find out what they really enjoy. All people enjoy giving away money for instance; they don't know that, they rather think they like keeping it; and they do keep it under this false impression, often to their great discomfort. Everybody likes to do good, but not one in a hundred finds this out. Multitudes think they like to do evil; yet no man ever really enjoyed doing evil since God made the world.—*Stones of Venice.*

——A GERMAN PHILOSOPHER UPON WAR.—At the termination of a war and the signing of a treaty of peace, it might not be unbefiting that the proclamation of a day of thanksgiving should be immediately followed by one of fast and penitence, wherein to implore pardon of Heaven for the grievous sin which the race of man is continually committing; inasmuch as no nation will submit to any legal restraint or agreement in relation to other nations, but, proud of its independence, chooses rather to resort to the barbarian expedient of war, by that which is sought—viz. the right of each nation, can never in any case be ascertained. The thanksgivings and rejoicings on occasion of a victory—the hymns which, in a genuine judicial spirit, are sung to the Lord of Hosts, stand in the strongest contrast to the moral conception of the Father of men; since they do not only show a total indifference to the nature of the means by which nations seek to establish their right respectively (which is melancholy enough), but display a positive joy at having destroyed the lives, or ruined the happiness, of multitudes of human beings.—*Kant.*

——THE ECHO HUNTER.—There was not any part of Ireland, Scotland, or Wales, with which he was not familiar. He had visited Switzerland, too, but the mountains and valleys there, he said, were on too vast a scale for his purpose. In Merionethshire and Snowdonia, and other parts of North Wales, he had been very successful, as also in the western Highlands of Scotland; but it was in the wilder districts of Connaught and Munster that he most delighted. In Glen Inagh, not far from the head of Kylemore Lake, at the foot of Mulrea mountain, near the Killeries on the western side of Croagh Patrick, and in Ballycroy, near the lake of Carreg-a-biniogh, and in a spot between Corselieve and Nephin Beg mountains, he had awakened, he said, responses that might almost be thought superhuman: the valleys and cliffs seemed to start into life, and their voices were lifted up as if they were living things. "But," said he, lowering his voice, "it were vain for you or any other mortal to attempt to find out these peculiar spots. I alone discovered them, and with me the knowledge of their existence will die. As no living man has the powers of invitation that I possess, so it is vain to expect from Nature a similar response. It cannot be." I readily assented to this assertion, being of course, quite convinced that the response of the echo must be more or less wonderful according to the skill of the musician. My companion was in all respects a gentleman, was a first rate judge of the laws of harmony, knew the merits and demerits of all the principal composers and artists of this day, intermingled many interesting anecdotes with his disquisitions, and criticised with taste and learning. Ere we parted for the night, he invited me to accompany him on the following morning on an excursion into the Ballycroy mountains; and it was in this valley, not very far from the spot in which we are now sitting, that he gave me a specimen of his powers of "awakening the voice of Nature." He placed me on a certain spot; and exacting a promise that I would not follow him, he retired, and in about a quarter of an hour gave me such a treat in his peculiar art as I can never forget. To describe it is impossible. No band of instrumental music in the world could equal it. The reverberations were perfectly astounding. The rocks and mountains seemed alive with the soul of harmony; the softest and wildest notes floated on the air, now close, now distant; now dying away in some distant recess of the valley, now awakening louder and louder among the cliffs and precipices; at one moment faint as the whisper of the breeze, at another loud, clear, and bold as the trumpet of the Archangel.—*The Saxon in Ireland.*

——DILAPIDATION OF THE PYRAMIDS.—Although I do not share in the superstitious enthusiasm of some, I could not but be moved by seeing what havoc is in progress everywhere, from the pyramids to the cataracts. It would be impossible to point out every place where the work of Vandalism is going on; but I will just mention one or two instances, in order to hint to the curious that they must come in time to these regions, or they will find little more than traditions of all the minor curiosities, and the great ones much ill-treated. The northern pyramid of Dasheur is now in progress of being converted into a quarry, in order to build some new palace or villa in the neighborhood,—the tombs of Sakkara are used for the same purpose,—the mounds of Abydus are ransacked for building materials,—the Temple of Erment is going for the same purpose,—and two temples have within the last two years been knocked down, and the materials removed from near Sheikh Fadl, entirely without the knowledge of travellers:—to whom, indeed, they have remained entirely unknown until now that they no longer exist. I went to Skhmin to look at the great block of stone copied by Wilkinson, and supposed to be restored by Letrome. I found that the first line was almost entirely gone. They are breaking up the stone to make lime. Enough, however, remains to show that some at least of M. Letronne's suggestions are not correct. He introduces words where there never have been any,—as on the slightest examination is evident. It is worth remarking, also, that the inscription had previously been copied by Pococke, who cautiously makes several very sensible and reasonable restorations,—adopted without acknowledgment by the French *savant*.—*Athenæum Correspondent.*

——THE SPANISH PHYSICIAN AND HIS ATTENDANT SPIRIT.—Among Torralva's friends at Rome was a Dominican monk, called Brother Pietro, who told him one day that he had in his service "an angel of the order of good spirits," named Zequiel, who was so powerful in the knowledge of the future and of hidden things, that he was without his equal in the spiritual world, and of such a peculiar temper that, while other spirits made bargains with their employers before they would give them their services, Zequiel was so disinterested that he despised all considerations of this kind, and served only in friendship those who placed their confidence in him and deserved his attachment. The least attempt at restraint, Brother Pietro said, would drive him away for ever. Torralva's curiosity was excited; and when Brother Pietro generously proposed to resign the familiar spirit to his friend, the other was eagerly accepted. It appears that the person most concerned in this transaction made no objection to the change of masters; and at the summons of Brother Pietro, Zequiel made his appearance in the form of a fair young man, with light hair, and dressed in a flesh-colored habit and a black surtout. He addressed himself to Torralva, and said, "I will be yours as long as you live, and will follow you wherever you are obliged to go." From this Zequiel appeared to Torralva at every change of the moon, and as often as the physician wanted his services, which was generally for the purpose of transporting him in a short space of time to distant places. In these interviews, the spirit took sometimes the semblance of a traveller, and sometimes that of a hermit. In his intercourse with Torralva, he said nothing contrary to Christianity, but accompanied him to church, and never counselled him to evil; from which circumstances the physician concluded that his familiar was a good angel. He always conversed in the Latin or Italian language. Rome had now become to Torralva a second country; but about the year 1502 he went to Spain, and subsequently travelled through most parts of Italy, until he again fixed himself at Rome, under the protection of his old patron, the Bishop of Volterra, who had been made a cardinal on the 31st of May, 1503. With this introduction he soon obtained the favor of others of the cardinals, and rose to high repute for his skill in medicine. Having met at this time with some books on chiromancy, he became an eager student in that art, in the knowledge of which he subsequently surpassed most of his contemporaries. Torralva owed his medicinal knowledge partly to his familiar, who taught him the secret virtues of many plants, with which other physicians were not acquainted; and when the practitioner took exorbitant fees, Zequiel rebuked him, telling him that, since he had received his knowledge for nothing, he ought to impart it gratuitously. And when on several occasions Torralva was in want of money, he found a supply in his chamber, which he believed was furnished him by the good spirit, who, however, would never acknowledge that he was the secret benefactor who had relieved him from his embarrasment. Torralva returned to Spain in 1510, and lived for some time at the Court of Ferdinand the Catholic. One day, Zequiel whose information were usually of a political character, told him that the king would soon hear disagreeable news. Torralva immediately communicated this piece of information to Ximines de Cisneros, Archbishop of Soledo (who was subsequently raised to the dignity of cardinal, and made inquisitor-general of Spain), and the grand captain Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordova. The same day a courier arrived with despatches from Africa containing intelligence of the ill success of the expedition against the Moors, and of the death of Don Garcia de Toledo, son of the Duke of Alva, who commanded it. Torralva seems to have made no secret of his intercourse with Zequiel. He had received his familiar from a monk, and the spirit is said to have shown himself to the cardinal of Volterra at the physician's wish; the latter now did not hesitate to acquaint the Archbishop of Toledo and the grand captain how he came by his early intelligence. The archbishop earnestly desired to be permitted to have the same privilege as the Italian cardinal, and Torralva wished to gratify him, but Zequiel refused, though he softened his refusal by telling him to comfort the archbishop that he would one day be a king, a prophecy which was believed to be fulfilled when he was made absolute governor of Spain and the Indies.—*Wright's Narratives of Sorcery.*

——MR. JOHN DICKENS, of the *Daily News*, and father of the celebrated novelist, died on Monday last at Keppel-st. Russell-square, in his 66th year. He formerly held a situation in the Navy Pay-Office, and up to his death enjoyed a pension for long service, but had long devoted himself to journalism—principally in the reporting departments—For some time Mr. John Dickens was connected with the *Mirror of Parliament* when edited by a relative of his own. He afterward retired to the neighborhood of Exeter, from which he arrived in town to take part in the establishment of the *Daily News*. Of course the greater part of the public interest which attaches to the memory of the late gentlemen radiates from the fame of his illustrious son; but, personally, Mr. John Dickens enjoyed throughout his long life the esteem and respect of a wide circle of friends. Possessed of great energy of character, thorough business habits, a fine literary appreciation, and a perfect savoir faire in the practical management of an important department of London journalism, Mr. Dickens's removal will be felt as a wide blank and an irremediable misfortune in the extensive and respectable sphere within which his energies were directed, and in which his worth and many sterling qualities were known.

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* Dahomey and the Dahomans; being the Journals of Two Missions to the King of Dahomey, and Residence at his Capital in the Years 1849 and 1851. By Frederick E. Forbes, Commander, R. N.